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LUCIEN BONAPARTE,

PRINCE OF CANINO.

Published by Henry Colburn, Conduit Street, June 1st

Literary Society of Bombay

MEMOIRS

OF THE

PRIVATE AND POLITICAL LIFE

OF

LUCIEN BONAPARTE,

Prince of Canino,

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ.
Et servare modum, rebus sublatis secundis!

ÆNEIDOS, l. x.

33021

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN,

PUBLIC LIBRARY, CONDUIT STREET, HANOVER SQUARE.

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B. Clarke, Printer, Well Street, London.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Memoirs were printed at Paris in 1815, but when on the point of coming out, some unexpected obstacles arose which induced the bookseller to suspend their publication; and the whole impression remained in his hands, until it was shortly after destroyed. According to reports then in circulation, an agent of Lucien Bonaparte indemnified the publisher for the sacrifice he thus made, and the surrender of the manuscript. But, whether the latter part of this engagement was imperfectly executed, or that a copy of the former remained in the bookseller's possession, has not been very clearly ascertained: we merely know, that the volumes now laid before the British public contain an exact transcript, illustrated with several interesting notes, of the original copy rescued from destruction. Without stopping to enquire by what chain of circumstances these Memoirs have fallen into the hands of the present Editor, or explaining those facts which have led to his reprinting the work, it is of much more importance

to satisfy the reader as to their correctness. Upon this subject we venture to assert, that a slight glance at the contents of these volumes will serve to convince the most incredulous, that none but one who had witnessed the principal events described, and had recourse to authentic documents, could have written them.

Anxious to procure any additional facts calculated to illustrate the Memoirs, and at the same time corroborate their authenticity, soon after the manuscript arrived, the publisher waited on a distinguished foreign nobleman, then in London, who had been formerly on terms of the closest intimacy with the Prince of Canino and his family. The result of this interview was highly gratifying, and fully confirmed the opinion previously entertained with respect to the sources from whence the author drew his materials. As a still greater proof of approbation, the above distinguished personage very kindly offered to add some facts and observations of his own. These will be found at the end of the Memoirs, in a letter addressed to the publisher, which, together with the other supplementary papers, are particularly worthy of public attention.

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INTRODUCTION.

AMIDST the sources of history, and the various elements of which it is composed, secret memoirs are justly distinguished, as giving animation and colouring to that important subject, by revealing political mysteries, and discovering a great variety of highly interesting facts, which must, without their aid, be totally lost to the community. They may be also said to watch over the conduct, and finally divulge the most hidden actions of public men. With such salutary monitors before them, neither folly nor indiscretion can flatter itself with being long concealed; while it is in vain for political characters to expect that the judgment of their contemporaries will be formed merely on their public acts or recorded opinions.

Referring to that inexorable judge, history, as it influences the human mind, it is scarcely necessary to observe, that when not illustrated by individual memoirs, the interest it creates does not often go beyond that which is excited by the perusal of an official report, or the methodical details of a gazette. Besides, truth requires that the mask placed on her features, by those who are interested in concealing them from public admiration and applause, should be torn off some time or another.

If history, which embraces a regular chain of events, stops to trace causes and their effects, preserving a severe tone and measured step, it is not so with the memoirs of particular persons: these being absolved from the austere rules of the historic muse, take a wider range, and are infinitely more unrestrained in their wanderings: stripping truth of her modest robe, they shew her undisguised to the regards of contemporaries and posterity. Such is the difference which exists between two modes of

composition, that afford mutual support, and have a great affinity to each other.

It may indeed be now said, that there are no longer any secrets for history, as there is no more mystery in politics. The art of printing, the diffusion of knowledge, and communication kept up between civilized nations, in removing every obstacle which formerly opposed observation and thought, have left the votaries of truth a free access to her temple.

We may also add that contemporary history, if compiled with a due regard to strict veracity, furnishes the only means we possess of replacing the moral censorship of the ancients—a species of magistracy which was pre-eminently useful in the suppression of vice and immorality amongst them. One of its immediate effects with ourselves will be, that of moderating the excesses of men in power, by showing that public animadversion is hanging over their heads, like the sword of Damocles. In this respect, we do not hesitate to remind the reader

of a few observations made on a former occasion, which apply with considerable force to the present question. " History, seated on her inflexible tribunal, calls for the testimony of the present generation, in order that it may guide and influence her judgment of individuals. Her sacred mission is that of for ever giving up to reproach or esteem, to contempt or admiration, the men who have been instrumental in contributing to the misery or happiness of mankind. It will be in vain for these to claim oblivion of the past: they have appeared on the scene, and it is no longer in their power to escape from recollection, for history awaits them. If they have retired from the political theatre, nothing remains but their actions: these are attested by innumerable spectators, from whom they either merit applauses, or they are condemned to hear the indignant cries of nations who have been instructed by faithful and well-authenticated tradition. Should contemporary evidence be influenced by passion or prejudice, the actors

are still on the spot, and can, if they choose, controvert assertions or refute argument. But let them remember that vague complaints, or false accusations, will have no weight with the juries of posterity, which will estimate the reputation of all with strict impartiality."

The foregoing reflections may, we presume, be rigorously applied to historical memoirs. Such is the title which it is hoped the following detail will be found to merit: we can safely say they are founded on truth, and have nothing in common with those insipid compilations, divested alike of resemblance to fact, or any qualities to amuse; and which nothing but mercantile literature could suffer to inundate the public.

In deploring this very frequent endeavour to impose on public credulity, it is some consolation to reflect that none but the very lowest class of readers are induced to swallow the baits thus thrown out by the rapacity of authors, while an enlightened public either re-

jects, or soon learns to place a *just* value on those shapeless and amphibious productions, which neither belong to romance or history. It has been justly observed that truth has a colour and physiognomy of her own; of which imposture cannot deprive her, particularly in revealing the private life and most secret actions of those celebrated men, whose steps have been traced, and motions closely watched, during the whole of their political career, and who could not possibly escape the scrutiny of witnesses and accomplices.

One of these will be found in Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Cänino, who, though less celebrated than his brother Napoleon, has played a very important part in life, and excited a corresponding share of public curiosity. With some passages more or less softened down, and a few suppressions, these memoirs might be considered as having issued from Lucien's own port-folio; at all events, it is evident that their real author must have been favoured

by a singular combination of circumstances, before he could procure such a number of valuable documents, so authentic and regular, that the whole may be considered as furnishing all a reader could require, to satisfy him as to the private and public life of the ex-emperor's brother. When it is recollected that the principal events, and most unforeseen incidents of Lucien's life, occurred out of the limits of France, either in Italy or England, we are naturally led to conclude that none but a person who had been a constant follower, and confidential attendant of his, could have supplied a regular series of facts concerning the above personage, which is scarcely broken for several years. It could only have been by frequent and intimate communication with the object of these memoirs that the writer was enabled to draw his character with so much truth and exactness, or so minutely detail his habits and most secret actions; and yet it is somewhat difficult

to suppose the possibility of any one's following the steps, and watching the movements of another during a period of twenty-four years, for the purpose of finally laying them before the public. On the other hand, can it be admitted that Lucien himself is the author of these memoirs? Would not such an idea be out of all probability; or could he have been capable of pronouncing his own condemnation? Is it likely that he would have disclosed so many incidents, as humiliating to self-love as they are fatal to his reputation?

It is useless to indulge in conjectures which there is no probability of solving; it is however of importance to recollect, that many circumstances in the life of Lucien Bonaparte have been singularly favourable to the investigation of his public and private politics, and that his port-folio was not always held sacred. Above all, the reader need not be surprised that materials, collected in the midst of events less surprising than capricious, should have fallen

into the hands of a person who was but little experienced in literary composition. On this account, recourse was had to a writer distinguished for his talents in biographical research, and who is known to be the author of several works on the events of the day.

Leaving this part of the book to its fate, the dispassionate reader, who forms his judgment with a greater regard to impartiality, and even with more taste and acumen than many who are critics by profession, will not fail to recognize the authenticity of these memoirs, from the ingenuous manner in which they are related, totally divested of that tergiversation and verbosity which are the usual attendants on deception and falsehood.

All that we can more positively affirm with respect to the arrangement is, that the editor has confined himself with scrupulous exactness to the materials placed in his hands, without altering any of the facts—a liberty which he would have considered as altogether inexcusable. His principal object has been that of

reorganizing the various parts of the manuscript confided to his care, with a view of giving it more connexion, and retouching the style throughout: his literary responsibility extends no further. While the judgment of the public is freely exercised on his labours, it is hoped their impartiality, at least, will be acknowledged. The reader will perceive that wherever Lucien's conduct has been marked by honour and integrity, it is neither concealed nor disguised, while those of his actions which appeared most worthy of praise have not only been brought conspicuously forward, but have received the degree of panegyric they seemed to deserve. Thus it may be justly said, that neither the spirit of party, or attachment to any particular system of politics, have transformed the editor into a violent declaimer or malevolent censor. Influenced, however, by his sense of impartial justice, he has not hesitated to express himself with becoming severity on those parts of Lucien's life, in which personal ambition and selfish passions appear

to have converted him into the disturber of social order, or the unprincipled leader of a faction.

Although the style of these memoirs may not possess the dignity required by history, the editor hopes it will not be found either feeble or diffuse. Beside, he did not sit down to write an academical discourse, or occasional essay, in which eccentricity might pass for wit, and a frivolous play upon words for argument. Historical memoirs, which must be always interesting to the public, should preserve both ease and simplicity; for the success of works of this description does not depend either on their method or meretricious ornament: they ought to succeed because the character and details they contain are founded on truth.

Let it also be kept in mind that the tribunal of history is only invested with a moral force, and that the judgments she pronounces are not without an appeal.

SECRET MEMOIRS

OF

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

THE family of Bonaparte, which had arisen to the very highest pinnacle of fortune, though now precipitated into obscurity, pretends not to be originally from Corsica, but to have come from San Miniato in Tuscany, and even traces its ancestry as far back as the fourteenth century. It is true, there was a respectable family named *Bonaparte* in that country, of which many had distinguished themselves both in arms and letters; but there is nothing to prove their connexion with the Bonapartes of Corsica. We know, also, that it was not until during his first

Italian campaigns, that Napoleon ascertained that such a family had ever flourished there. He then suppressed the *u* in his name, exclusively adopting the signature of Bonaparte, like that of the Florentine family. With respect to the origin and antiquity of the Corsican Bonapartes, the utmost ignorance generally prevails: it is merely known that the family furnished numerous mayors, magistrates, bailiffs, and registers, and that Napoleon descended from it. His ancestors, it should be observed, were considered as possessing a considerable degree of respectability, although it does not appear that they took any very active part in those troubles which agitated Corsica after its revolt from the domination of Genoa.

It is now a well known fact, that M. Charles Bonaparte, the husband of Letitia Ramolini, and father of Napoleon, was one of those Corsican deputies who were sent to Versailles in 1778, for the purpose of laying the homage of the island, already ten years in the pos-

session of France, at the feet of Louis the Sixteenth.

It has often been asserted, that the family of Bonaparte was without fortune: this is not strictly true in a country where that word must be taken in a very limited sense. The following trait, for the truth of which we can vouch, confirms the above observation. After the elevation of Napoleon, Cardinal Fesch, brother of Madame Letitia, by the mother's side, wished to purchase all the land formerly possessed by his own family in Corsica, as well as his sister's husband. This scheme was soon executed, and a yearly revenue of twenty thousand francs accrued from the united properties. The cardinal's object was in the first instance to benefit the island, by encouraging the cultivation of cotton, and introduction of Merino flocks; his next, that of providing a retreat in the hour of danger.*

* Several Maltese, who had been exiled from their country for having espoused the cause of France, took

At the age of thirty-six, Charles Bonaparte was attacked by a pulmonary complaint, of which he died at Montpelier, a few years before the Revolution, leaving but a very limited property to a numerous family, composed of five sons, Joseph, Napoleon, Lucien, Louis, and Jerome; the two latter were infants at the time of their father's death; he also left three daughters, Marianna, (*Eliza,*) Carletta, (*Pauline,*) and Annunziada, (*Caroline.*) Lucien, whose memoirs we have collected, was born in 1779.

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refuge in Paris. Two of these, who were well versed in the culture of cotton, proceeded to Corsica, especially commissioned by the Cardinal to establish themselves on his estates. They were also directed to import from Greece and Malta the various species of cotton cultivated in those places: planters were even sent for; and besides a number of agricultural implements more adapted to the soil of Corsica than those hitherto used there, the new settlers brought a quantity of different seeds, fruit trees, flowers, &c. which had not been previously known in the island. In addition to the estates of his family, the Cardinal purchased several others from individuals; he had also projected a magnificent house on one of them.

Nothing very particular distinguished his youth and early studies, which he went through with the facility that boys usually derive from a frank and lively disposition. Although manifesting a good deal of taste for letters and the arts, his progress was by no means rapid or decided. Paoli, who derived some degree of celebrity in Europe from the dissensions of his country, having returned to Corsica during the first years of the Revolution, noticed the young Bonapartes, particularly Lucien, whom he used to call his little philosopher. Even at this early period they betrayed symptoms of that ambition which has subsequently distinguished them; but the youth of Lucien prevented his taking any part in the first revolutionary movements of France. In 1789 he was scarcely twelve years of age; and from the remoteness of those events which agitated the mother country, it was not easy for the Corsicans to take any part in them, much less to form an adequate notion of their

exact nature and extent. Like all the other provinces, Corsica sent deputies to the States-general, to which their claims were formally presented.*

It was the ardour and ambition with which they embraced the revolutionary doctrines that induced Napoleon and Lucien to declare for the National Convention against Paoli, who was then all-powerful in Corsica. In this enterprise both the brothers displayed great energy of character; and in 1793, Napoleon,

* On Sunday, May the 30th, 1790, there was a military confederation held at Lyons, composed of the national guard of that city and its environs, deputies from all the departments, and every regiment in the kingdom. The deputation from Corsica was the only one not present, and did not arrive till the next day. It was said at Lyons, that Lucien and Napoleon formed a part of it; however this may be, a second fête was given out of respect to the last comers; and though not quite so splendid as the first, it was rendered much more agreeable, owing to the fine weather which prevailed during its continuance; and notwithstanding the departure of great numbers, there still remained above twenty thousand strangers to witness the scene.

against whom a decree of banishment was issued, saw himself under the necessity of quitting the island to seek an asylum in Provence, together with the whole family, which was numerous, and so excessively poor, as to be almost totally destitute of pecuniary resources. Joseph, Lucien, and Louis, who were included in the proscription of their brother, had neither profession nor employment: as to Napoleon, he joined the regiment of artillery in which he was at that time a lieutenant.*

* Napoleon, after having concluded his studies at Brienne, entered the Grenoble regiment of artillery. M. de la Salette, son of a gentleman who had formerly filled the office of advocate-general to the parliament of that city, a captain-major and a chevalier of St. Louis, was governor of the school during Bonaparte's time, and frequently found it necessary to punish or reprimand the young student. In the beginning of the war which broke out in 1792, M. de la Salette was first sent to Metz in Germany, and afterwards served in Spain as a brigadier-general of artillery. Some days after the 9th of November, 1799,† an officer of high rank in the

† The day on which Bonaparte usurped the government of France, by turning the Council of Ancients out of their place of meeting.—*Ed.*

The fugitive family having established itself at Marseilles in the house of M. Clary, a rich soap manufacturer, and respectable merchant, received those succours which the convention accorded to refugees who had been reputed patriots. The south of France, and this place in particular, which resisted the popular torrent, had just been subjugated by some conventional pro-consuls, amongst whom Salicetti, a native of Corsica, cut a very conspicuous

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above corps, who had been charged with the execution of an important operation, requested that General de la Salette should be associated with him in the enterprise. Upon which the consul enquired whether that officer was not the same whom he had known at Grenoble; on being answered in the affirmative, the ci-devant governor was immediately placed on half-pay. He was at this time about sixty-two years of age. Afterwards, when the legion of honour was instituted, several general officers requested a cross might be given to M. de la Salette, but the consul formally refused it to one of the bravest and best informed officers in the army. This veteran has since settled in the place of his birth, Grenoble, where he lives with his family in honourable ease and retirement. He is the author of several works on musical science, which are highly and very deservedly esteemed.

figure, and seemed to take a great interest in the concerns of the Bonaparte family: on presenting Napoleon to Barras, he guaranteed the former's ardent zeal in the popular cause, and thus obtained promotion for him in the artillery.—Such is the origin of Bonaparte's fortune, together with that of his family. An officer high in the commissariat also undertook to provide for Joseph, who was shortly made a commissary of war. With respect to Lucien, who had embraced the revolutionary doctrines with quite as much zeal and ardour as his brother Napoleon, he was appointed to a situation in the civil administration of the army destined to act in the maritime Alps. His ambition in those days only aspired to the regulation of a magazine for military subsistence, that of Saint Maximin, a small town between Toulon and Antibes, which had been confided to M. Roccofort le Sage, of Lyons, formerly a purveyor to the army of Italy. This man was denounced at the tribune of the people as an

aristocrat by Lucien, who immediately after succeeded to his place, the former being turned out in consequence of his representation. This was the first development of those passions which were destined to influence his future life. Ardent, gay, and animated, with an impetuous temperament, he would at one time give up his time to women, and as suddenly turn with equal ardour to the pursuit of politics, passing whole days in the tribune of the popular assembly, where he never ceased to entertain his hearers with the most inflammatory harangues in favour of the revolution.

These orations were sometimes varied by the recital of verses, and sentimental epistles, which had been inspired by his own muse. Thenceforward Lucien thought himself an orator and poet.

His employment of store-keeper had placed Lucien on terms of intimacy with the family of M. Boyer, who was respectable though not

rich. He was not, however, without some patrimony, and also kept a species of hotel. Mr. Boyer was the father of two children, a boy and a girl; the latter, named Christine, was of an interesting figure, and possessed a very amiable disposition, although timid and reserved. Lucien, familiarly admitted into the house, became shortly after enamoured of Christine, and soon contrived to create a reciprocal feeling on her part. This attachment, which increased daily, could not fail to make some noise in a small provincial village. One day, when Lucien had just concluded an oration in favour of equality, made at the assemblage of the people, he was thus accosted in the language of the day by the honest Boyer, who never omitted going to admire his fine speeches: "You have amply proved our equality; and, therefore, as we are all equal, why don't you marry my daughter? You pay court to her, by which her reputation suffers; so that if you are a honest man, you

ought not to hesitate." This address, which was made before a great number of patriots, electrified Lucien; but it was absolutely necessary to sustain his reputation, by practising what he preached; he therefore took Boyer by the hand, and giving it a hearty squeeze, exclaimed: "Very well, be it so! I'll marry your daughter."

In the mean time, the rest of the Bonaparte family had no resource whatever, but in Napoleon's rapid advancement, patronised as he was by several powerful conventionalists, who were placed near the seat of the revolutionary government; but on the fall of Robespierre, the edifice of their hopes was immediately crumbled into dust. This took place on the twenty-seventh of July, 1794, while Lucien was still a store-keeper, and president of the popular assembly at Saint Maximin, where he had to sustain the violent re-action occasioned by those revolutionary excesses which followed the above event. The National Con-

vention had just sent the representatives, Serres and Anguis, into the southern departments, to crush the terrorists, who were still formidable: to these, a number of denunciations were made against Lucien, who was represented as the little Robespierre of Saint Maximin; but as he had a large party in that town, his opponents were obliged to conduct the attack with some degree of prudence and caution. However, the Pro-consul Anguis thought it would answer every purpose to pronounce a vehement discourse against him in the midst of the popular assembly: this he considered as an effectual mode of destroying Lucien; and, accordingly, the enraged deputy delivered a violent philippic, in which the store-keeper's exaltation to the presidency, his doctrine in support of anarchy, and the tyranny which he had established at Saint Maximin during the domination of Robespierre, were successively arraigned. Lucien, so far from being disconcerted by the speech of his anta-

gonist, repelled the accusations with such revolutionary arguments, that the pro-consul was reduced to silence, leaving the field of contention to Lucien, whose popularity was thereby considerably increased amongst the terrorists, which from that time forward gave rise to his becoming their acknowledged champion. But this party, already struck down in the capital, could not long resist the torrent of re-action in the south. In the provinces, where political passions generally appear under forms of phrenzy and exaltation, it was almost impossible that the terrorists, or *blood-drinkers*, should not be replaced by the royalists, or *cut-throats*, as they were called.

Obliged to abandon Saint Maximin, and remove from the south, where his life was threatened, Lucien narrowly escaped becoming the victim of Rey, the executioner, whose family he was accused of having put to death; in consequence of which, the former vowed to exterminate him with his own hands. This man,

who had in his turn become the dread of the southern terrorists, armed himself from head to foot, and way-laid Lucien on the high road, determined to immolate the latter to the manes of his departed relatives. Coming up on horse-back, Lucien saw the danger; but by some means or other, he disconcerted the assassin, who was no longer capable of fulfilling his meditated resolution. Having escaped this dilemma, Lucien proceeded to the capital, where, like his brothers, he was equally destitute of resources and patronage. The great distress in which the Bonapartes were plunged at this time is well known, and their difficulties continued to increase till the famous fifth of October, 1795, when Napoleon, called by Barras to head the armed force, and covered with the blood of the Parisians, had only to follow up his new destiny: the short combat of an hour was on that occasion sufficient to change the whole face of things in France, and replunge it into all the calamities of revolutionary tyranny.

The Convention, in organizing the government settled by the constitution of 1794, was however the very cause of terminating its fatal existence. The ex-conventional Fréron, who had previously signalized himself in a pro-consulship with the army of Toulon, was on the above occasion sent once more into the south, to stifle the *re-action*, for so they called the tardy rising of these Frenchmen, whose families had been already massacred, and ruin consummated. The commission of government, in which Fréron presided as chief director, established itself at Marseilles, where Lucien had rejoined his mother and sisters: after this, they all frequented the pro-consul's levées, and added to the number of his suppliants. Madame Letitia even received assistance, which had a considerable effect in alleviating their embarrassments. Besides, it was at this period that people began to speak of General Bonaparte, and his claims to the gratitude and esteem of those conventionalists who remained at

the head of the government after the fifth of October. Lucien, availing himself of his brother's growing celebrity, succeeded in obtaining the provisional appointment of commissary at war, which the Executive Directory soon after confirmed.

Becoming more independent by his new situation, Lucien returned to Saint Maximin, when, whether from a wish of adhering to his former promise, or the fidelity of his attachment, he married the innkeeper's daughter, notwithstanding some opposition on the part of his family, the members of which objected to it more on the principle of its having been contracted at too early an age (for Lucien was now scarcely twenty-one), than the inequality of the alliance. The revolution had, in fact, already effected a great change in the manners and customs of the day, causing the disparities of rank which had hitherto existed in society totally to disappear; on the other hand, it should be added, that the conduct and cha-

racter of the young lady was altogether irreproachable. It was not so with the daughters of Madame Letitia, who had by no means a very scrupulous regard to decorum; leaving no doubt on the public mind of a strong predilection in favour of gallantry. The eldest had suddenly given her hand to Bacciochi, an officer in the old royal Italian regiment; and Pauline, the youngest, publicly received the assiduities and homage of the Adjutant-General Leclerc, who commanded the garrison of Marseilles.

After the marriage Lucien was occupied in superintending the education of his wife, who, in a short time, had made a sufficient progress to enable her to appear in the midst of her new family. She was however naturally imbued with a melancholy turn, which, added to bad health, prevented her from enjoying the exalted fortune which awaited her on a future day.

Lucien continued to exercise the functions

of war commissary from 1795 till the end of the following year, when he received the minister's orders to proceed into the Belgian provinces. Arriving at Brussels, he soon quarrelled with the chief commissary of the division. This officer had received the young coadjutor with all that attention and respect which was due to the brother of a distinguished general, but at the same time he determined to maintain his superiority, and was not a little surprised on Lucien's flatly refusing to take charge of the commissariat at Antwerp, without assigning any other motive for his disobedience than the dislike he had towards residing in the above city. The superior having in vain attempted to induce a compliance with his orders, concluded by declaring he would have recourse to force if Lucien was not at his post in twenty-four hours. Upon this the latter departed, but it was only to quit the division. A serious complaint to the minister followed this untractable beha-

haviour of the refractory commissary, and might have been attended with the worst consequences, had not Napoleon already commenced his famous Italian campaigns; and the government felt unwilling to deal harshly with one who was so closely allied to the conqueror of Lodi.

The obstinacy manifested by Lucien on this occasion partook no doubt of his character, but not so much as to exclude the idea of his being greatly influenced in his conduct by the rising splendour of his family. When necessary, no man was more ready to conform to his humble condition, and repress the natural violence of character so peculiar to him. We have known some commissaries to whom the store-keeper of St. Maximin paid the most marked attentions; and in general the greatest assiduities seemed to be no sacrifice whatever to him, when he was desirous of being honoured with protection or civilities from men in office, who could be useful to him. This system of

Lucien's increased with events, and invariably formed a distinguishing trait in his character. It was now that his political life may be said to have commenced.

A state of laborious subjection, in which his relative situation with regard to others was far from being agreeable, which afforded but a precarious chance of fortune, and promised no glory, could not long satisfy Lucien, who began to pant for greater notoriety.

Bonaparte was at this period resplendent in numerous victories: these he had just crowned by the treaty of Campo Formio, the brilliancy of which was unequalled in the annals of French diplomacy. So much renown was naturally calculated to inflame the vanity and exalt the passions of Napoleon. Lucien having now interrogated himself with all the confidence of youthful presumption, which sees fortune smile in the midst of anarchy, fancied that he was also made for glory: hence the conviction, in his own mind, at least,

that he was shortly destined to become a great man in the state.

When, in 1797, preparations were making to renew the members of the legislative body, Lucien took advantage of the circumstance, and got himself nominated as one of the Council of Five Hundred by the electors of his native department. Thus his legislative career commenced with a manifest breach of the law, as he had not attained his twenty-third year, while the constitution ordained that no person should be eligible as a representative before the age of twenty-five.

What with intrigue, and persuading his friends, Lucien was enabled to surmount this obstacle; but it is extremely difficult to conceive how such a formidable objection could be over-ruled, when the respective qualifications were obliged to be minutely verified before the council: it is probable that either the process verbal did not mention the age, or he made it appear greater. In whatever

mode the difficulty may have been obviated, it was not till nearly two years after that the general of the demagogue party, being enraged against Lucien, noticed the above circumstance.

His first remarkable appearance in the tribune of the council took place in the sitting f July, 1798. In order to favour the observance of those days, newly called *decades*, it was proposed to oblige traders to keep their shops open on all the days which were not solemnized by the republican calendar. On this occasion Lucien embraced the cause of the Catholics, when his philosophy, and principles of government, made up in some degree for his want of religion. There was a good deal of eloquence in the speech he delivered, and some very excellent thoughts:—"Tolerance," said he, "is the sister of liberty, and persecution the daughter of tyranny; nor have we any right to prevent a man from celebrating

any feast day which may be indicated by his religion."

About a month after he displayed great warmth and praiseworthy indignation in a report which he made for the commission of finances. The question related to those crying dilapidations which took place in the various services of the war department. "Our session," says the reporter, "will be celebrated for the repression of thefts, and punishment of robbers: you have already manifested those salutary intentions with a degree of power which has brought the cold sweat of crime over more than one forehead."

Proceeding in this strain, a severe attack was made on Arena, who had been accused of participating in all the shameful transactions of the ministry at war. It is certain that many of the members only hated Lucien the more from the freedom with which he spoke on the above occasion, while the designs entertained

by himself excluded the probability of his own party being charged with similar imputations.

Watching for every opportunity to become conspicuous, displaying considerable activity, and full of confidence while in the tribune, Lucien did not fail daily to increase his fame, while he acquired more weight and consideration amongst his colleagues. Soon after the period of his denouncing the peculators he took his place as secretary in the council, and, on the next day, made a rigorous motion against those innovations which the Executive Directory wished to introduce into the constitution of the Cisalpine republic. As this was established under the immediate protection of Bonaparte, it might be considered as a monument of his glory, the defence of which belonged to his own family. Besides, the Milanese seemed by no means flattered at the changes contemplated by the French government, and which it forced on them, notwithstanding the most spirited opposition.

An interesting discussion followed the animadversions of Lucien; and the journals and pamphlets of the day had availed themselves so liberally of the existing liberty, that the Executive Directory, seeing itself daily abused and attacked on every side, at length thought proper to promulgate a temporary law for its own protection. The term of this being about to expire, its farther continuance was called for by a large party. Although Lucien was at that time a warm partisan of unlimited freedom, he did not hesitate to recommend that the press should remain for three months longer under the scrutiny and control of government.

When the seventh anniversary day of founding the republic was celebrated, Lucien, during its commemoration, invited his colleagues to swear that they would, if necessary, die for the constitution of the year 1794. The hyperbole carried to its utmost extent was the favourite figure in those days. In having thus promised

to maintain an order of things, which was destroyed by himself a year after, was he uttering a premeditated perjury? We think not, for at this time there was no sign of those events which were about to commence in the approaching year, events which finally caused the revolution of 1800. The designs of Lucien could not then extend so far from his immediate object, that of making every possible exertion to arrive at the first dignities of the state; taken in this sense, the oath which had just been made was merely conditional. In the mean time, when the invading and hostile policy of the directory placed it under the necessity of increasing the armies in the midst of peace, Jourdan, the victor at Maubeuge, Fleurus, and in Bavaria, being appointed to a chief command, and happening to have a seat in the Council of Five Hundred, Lucien became the organ of his colleagues, to express their esteem for the warrior, and regret at his departure. On this occasion, his eulogy on

that general was of the most pompous description.

He soon after entered the lists for the purpose of combating a renewal of the impost on salt; and, on perceiving that the question was carried by government, boldly demanded that its amount should not exceed five francs the quintal. This amendment proved two facts, the orator's anxiety to become more popular, and the weakness of his financial knowledge, for it was either impolitic to revive the above tax, or if otherwise, it should have been made a source of public utility, whereas the sum proposed by Lucien would have been a charge to the consumer, from which the public treasury could derive no advantage.

At length commenced that war which the government had not ceased to provoke during a whole year, whether by the arrogance of its diplomatic agents, or unprincipled iniquity of its military enterprises. The French armies

repulsed from Germany, and pursued in Italy, were reduced at every point to remain on the defensive. In the interior the directory multiplied errors and injustice, giving rise to a feeling of dissatisfaction amongst some, and a total indifference of national interests in others, both symptoms which announced the approaching dissolution of the body politic. The deputy Carret depicted this moral apathy in a long oration, which he delivered from the tribune; and, in order more fully to illustrate the anti-patriotic feeling of which the nation was accused, he reminded the assembly of the trifling effect produced on the public mind by the recent assassination of the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. There is, however, no doubt that the authors of that abominable event never intended their machinations to have proceeded so far. Lucien, who we are not desirous of placing among the credulous on this occasion, but who, in his capacity of a statesman, thought the vulgar should be made so, even to absurdity, violently

opposed the assertions of Carret, which he represented as insults offered to the national spirit, and finally succeeded in having them expunged from the journals of the council.

All governments which arise from revolution, however great the efforts may be permanently to regulate and establish them, must for a long time feel the effects of that agitation to which they owe their existence: like man in his infant state, they are constantly on the point of falling a prey to some new convulsion, till the eventful period of infancy is passed. It is time, and that alone, which can firmly establish a new government: this sovereign remedy is capable of preserving it, although it may have even retained the vices and defects of its primitive institution. Destiny did not seem to reserve a very long period to the constitution of 1794: from the second year, the violence of the shock experienced on the fourth of September, 1797, left it so weak as to make it incapable of resisting the attacks which followed. From

the above period until May, 1798, the legislative body saw itself twice threatened with political extinction; and it was now the turn of the executive power to brave the storm of popular indignation; for not only were the troubles which agitated the interior, but even the reverses of the armies, attributed to the directory. All these evils were more immediately ascribed to the alleged incapacity, narrow-minded views, and bad passions of three members, Merlin, Treilhard, and Reveillère-Lépeaux. The discontents soon gave rise to many violent discussions, in the course of which, various accusations were thundered forth, and in a few days they ended by the different assemblies of the nation declaring their sittings permanent: that of Five Hundred charged eleven of its members to propose a variety of strong measures calculated to meet the existing dangers of the state: the three obnoxious directors gave themselves up as a burnt-offering to the people, when Gohier,

Ducos, and General Moulin, were appointed to be the new colleagues of Barras and Siéyes, the two leaders, who were occupied in sapping the constitution, and silently preparing the way for a change in the government.

Lucien had now acquired too much influence not to cut a distinguished figure in the commission of eleven, chosen by the council. He made a report in the name of that extraordinary junta, on a message from the late directory, in which the members endeavoured to justify the administration of public affairs, stating, amongst other things, that they had not been properly supplied with the necessary funds to meet the wants of the armies. In this report, Lucien entered into a lengthened attack on the errors of the executive: he refuted the assertion relative to the scarcity of funds, by stating that the various sums voted by the legislature exceeded those demanded by the government. But, though well acquainted with the fact, he did not say that a part of these grants was not

realized; or that the directory had in vain solicited the Council of Five Hundred to replace the deficit. The reporter concluded, by assuring his auditors that a revision of the executive power could alone restore order, while it must give new life to every department of the public service.

In withdrawing himself from the demagogues, Lucien was not the less involved in revolutionary pursuits. For on quitting one party he attached his interests to those of Siéyes and his satellites. To make every effort calculated to oppose the progress of the foreign armies, and recur to all possible means of suppressing the insurrections which had just broke out in several departments of the south and west, destroy the hopes of the royalists, deceive and lull the actors of 1793, and finally seize the moment which was most likely to favour a new oligarchy, seemed to be the object and policy of this secret association.

It was in furtherance of these views that

Lucien persuaded the commission of Eleven to adopt several measures of coercion, warmly opposing every attempt to adjourn the discussions, for which the other members, alarmed at the violence of his propositions, were extremely anxious. "What!" cried Lucien, "will that declaration be dangerous which informs republicans, every where pursued and persecuted, that they can unite and present an impenetrable barrier to the scattered bands of their assassins—those brigands who desolate the departments of the south and west? Can that be dangerous, which, in suspending the erasure of emigrants, assures to the military, and friends of the republic, that our first care is to separate them from their enemies?"

On the day following this appeal, the new directory sent a message to the Council of Five Hundred, in which they fully exposed the critical state of the republic, and concluded by calling for more ample funds and new levies of men. On being read, Lucien, who

conceived that the means of government did not really equal its wants, demanded that the message should be forwarded to the departments. "It is necessary," said he, "that the armies should be made acquainted with the cause of their reverses, and know that they could not have ceased to conquer, had not the greatest folly and blackest treason suffered them to languish without the proper supplies; because they were no longer led by generals whose numerous victories gave them a claim on the confidence of the soldiers." This last sentence evidently alluded to the ostracism which detained Napoleon in Egypt.

Notwithstanding all this parade of patriotism, it had not the effect of sereening Lucien from the animadversions of the democrats. These had looked up to him for a long time as one of their firmest supporters; but when recognized as a deserter of the cause, he was thenceforth marked out for hatred and persecution. An early number of their privi-

leged paper, the "Journal of Freemen," was devoted to a variety of accusations against the representative of Ajaccio. The writer, amongst other interrogatories, asked if he had not been a member of a revolutionary committee? Whether he had not caused himself to be elected as a deputy at the illegal age of twenty-three by a department which had not even the right of election in that year? If he was not brother-in-law to an emigrant?* and finally, if he had not endeavoured to cause the assassination of some Minorqeens, in order that his emissaries might take possession of their ship, which was richly laden?

These insidious questions were suffered to pass without a reply, either because Lucien

* This emigrant was Bacciochi. The Convention had issued a decree which excluded all the relatives of that class from public employments; and notwithstanding the change in the times, the revolutionists still considered the relationship of Lucien to this man, as a just ground of exclusion from office.

hought himself sufficiently powerful to regard them with contempt, or that it was better not to notice assertions which there might have been some difficulty in refuting. With respect however to the last charge, which, although bearing every appearance of absurdity, was certainly a very serious one: there appeared a letter from M. Sapey, at that time director of the privateers in Corsica, detailing the capture of the Minorca vessel on the coast of Tuscany, by a privateer called the Patriot, and in which he stated her regular condemnation by the tribunals of Ajaccio, adding that the sale of her cargo only produced 180,000 francs instead of 800,000, as had been represented. Considered as a justification, this letter did not say enough to make it appear that the capture was perfectly legitimate, on the contrary, it ought to have been declared an act of piracy, as Spain was not then at war with France: in proof of this, several witnesses were examined, and documents pro-

duced, to shew the plundering disposition of the privateer's crew. To sum up the whole, it appeared that Lucien had really an interest in the success of the capturing vessel.

As the Council of Five Hundred had latterly become an arena in which the parties mutually reviled, menaced, and insulted each other, according to the real or imaginary strength of their positions, tranquillity was rarely seen amongst the members, and then but for a very short time. The faction which dominated one day lost its power the next, and entrenching itself behind the constitution, the vanquished party exclaimed, that the enemy wished to deprive it of that bulwark. The democrats could not be said to preponderate at this period. General Augereau, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, who had the credit of belonging to that party, acknowledged in the tribune that he was himself placed at the head of a movement against the people on the 14th of September, 1796.

"But at that time," said the general, "they had conspired against the republic, which it was necessary to save: this is not the case now; and all my patriotic colleagues would perish, sooner than suffer an attempt to be made on any part of the national representation."—Lucien succeeded in the debate; and in order to remove the alarm manifested by the assembly, observed, "I repeat, with Augereau, that if sacrilegious hands should touch the representatives of the people, all those concerned in such an attempt ought to perish. But there is a law in existence, made on the proposition of François of Nantes, which you should call to mind; it is that which outlaws any one who shall molest or interfere with the national representation. If a plot against the latter is in preparation, be assured, citizens, that the above law will be put into rigid execution." This famous law was, however, silent two months after, on the ninth of November, when even he who reminded the representa-

tives of its existence, was himself the first to order that violent hands should be laid on the very vitals of that constitution which he had so recently preached up as being sacred. It was by the foregoing speech, which the council voted to print, that Lucien terminated the seventh year of the new era.

These remarks will serve to give some idea of the state of those parties which contended for power in France at the above period. The royalists, who, ever since the fourteenth of September, had no influence, either in the government or legislative assemblies, continued to preserve a sort of political existence in the western departments, a constant theatre of civil war. It is true, this party was generally concealed, but it carefully watched the progress of foreign war, so as to take up arms according to circumstances. The revolutionists were the exclusive masters of the civil administration and executive power; but they were divided, as in nearly all the important epochs of the revo-

lution: some persisted in popular theories and habits, others placed their hopes in an oligarchy, while all affected to observe and defend the constitution already established; but the popular party were most entitled to a character for good faith, although both its credit and influence could not fail to decline by the unanimity of the government. Until the fourteenth of September, the popular assemblies were influenced by the executive power: this was domineered over in its turn, since the expulsion of the members already named. The popular party had, however, derived but little advantage from this revolution; and had a formidable enemy in Siéyes, who was legally introduced into the executive directory. The pride of this famous priest had been for some time offended by the existence of a constitution in the formation of which he had no share, so that every effort of his timid genius and artful ambition was united for its destruction. Siéyes was the soul of the oligarchy, a faction origi-

nally composed of Ducos, a man of inconsiderable note, and completely devoted to the Abbé Cabanis, Baudin of the Ardennes, and a celebrated minister, who was at that time subject to the sarcasms and accusations of the popular party, but infinitely superior to the individuals which composed it, and who were so blind as not to foresee that their power was about to terminate in the midst of hostile bayonets.. Besides, what did Siéyes want?—A king, who was in the first instance to assume the modest title of *Grand Elector*, and be proclaimed by a body bearing the ludicrous one of an *Absorbent Senate*; and upon whom did the greedy metaphysician, who out of derision was called the *High Priest*, fix his choice? According to the most authentic reports of the day, it fell on the Duke of Brunswick, a prince who was certainly every way worthy of a more noble election.

The republicans might have secured a majority of the Directory on the side of

Siéyes, but it was composed of men who were both divided and irresolute: Barras, for example, was immoral, superficial, and totally incapable of conducting a plot which had been ably prepared, and still less calculated to re-establish the equilibrium of the state, when once destroyed. And, according to some, he secretly favoured the return of the Bourbons; while others asserted that he was ambitious of directing the movement which was about to centralize and fortify the executive power. The nullity of his two colleagues, Gohier and Moulins, was a great source of annoyance to the popular party. The majority of the Directory saw, however, that it was surrounded with snares and dangers of every kind. It was in this trying state of affairs, and through the interest of the Director Barras, that a person re-appeared on the political stage, who has since become so celebrated by his vascillating fame, by an administration at once able and perverse, and, towards the end, by a degree

of moderation totally in opposition to his former revolutionary excesses. The reader will have already pronounced the name of Fouché, minister of police, called to that situation by the Directory. He penetrated with profound sagacity into all the views and resources of every faction, taking that of Siéyes into his pay immediately after his accession to power, when he openly declared against the Jacobins, whom he designated as anarchists. This species of desertion, although so very common at the above period, did not fail to call forth the indignation of his opponents; and Briot, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, went so far as to accuse him publicly. Briot, who was a democrat of the effervescent kind, deriving his politics from a heated imagination, compensated for a violent and inconsiderate disposition by his frankness, fidelity, information, and goodness of heart.

The following may serve as a specimen of the way in which he attacked the all-powerful

minister, whom he had declared his adversary. —"What kind of political confidence can be placed in a man who, previous to the twenty-seventh of July, when associated with Chaumette and Herbert, even went beyond the doctrines of Marat, in recommending immorality, pillage, death, and the disorganization of social order to the people; who caused it to be inscribed on the tombs at Niévre, that "Death was an eternal sleep!"—who, while at Lyons, waded through blood, and reigned over carcases and ruins; a man whom Robespierre himself accused of dishonouring the revolution by his excesses! Such is the person who accuses us, and whose reports calumniate the representatives of the people, who have merely demanded the punishment of robbers, occupied in organizing plots for their destruction! Those who wish the man that has been an instrument of the most odious revolutionary oppressions to be minister of police, are the people who want conspiracies and proscriptions."

Towards the conclusion of the above philippic, Briot described the frightful correspondence of Fouché during his mission to Lyons, which we shall abstain from citing.*

These attacks and mutual accusations had, however, no influence on the progress of events; they merely tended to augment the violence of

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* It is worthy of remark, that Fouché has always endeavoured to be useful to Lyons, perhaps from a wish to remove the impressions made by his revolutionary conduct while in that city. Being charged with the ministry of the interior during the illness of Cretet, Count Champmol, a deputation from the department of the Rhone came to Paris for the purpose, amongst other objects, of soliciting some favours from the minister of the interior, Fouché not only granted them all, but begged the deputies to inform him what they thought would promote the interests of their city. They replied, that funds were required to embellish the Museum, the gallery of which was al. they wanted to restore. "Why don't you make your application to have the three other rooms fitted up?" "We were afraid of being thought indiscreet," rejoined one of the members. "Oh never mind that," said Fouché: "make your demands without reserve, and forget nothing. I'll undertake to procure the approbation of any thing calculated to promot the happiness or embellishment of Lyons."

each party, without contributing to the interests of the state. It was the disasters of that war, which the miserable policy of the Directory induced it to undertake against Austria, renewal of the troubles in the west, discontent of the people, and exhausted state of the nation, which oppressed France; these, added to the growing dissensions of the legislative councils, were sure indications of an approaching revolution. As to Napoleon, the misfortunes which attended our arms in one direction only rendered his campaigns in Italy more glorious, while the fame they conferred received considerable addition from his subsequent conquest of Malta and Egypt. So many successes could not fail to obtain credit and consideration for the whole family: this was manifest in the persons of Lucien and Joseph, particularly the former, who, from his talents and ambition, became necessary to all those deliberations which prepared the destruction of existing authority. But the intentions of those who composed

the new party was not to avail themselves of the people's assistance; on the contrary, they endeavoured to humble the democracy, as the best means of destroying the government. In stirring up the people, they would have had to contend with the demagogues: on this account they determined to throw themselves into the arms of the military, and select one of that body, who should be alike capable of imposing on the generals and soldiers. Joubert was chosen in the first instance;* but falling by an unknown hand in the commencement of a battle which was to have supplied the glory he seemed to require, Moreau and Bonaparte remained: these were the only officers who had acquired that ascendency in the armies which governs opinion. But the stern and imperious character of Napoleon, the principles he had adopted since his prosperity, and his self-

* This officer was killed at Novi, August the 15th, 1799.—*Ed.*

ish ambition, were causes of dread even to his own brothers. "You don't know him," said Lucien: "once at the top, he will fancy himself in his camp, willing and commanding all around him!" It is certain that had Moreau displayed more political resolution, or had there been any other general sufficiently established in the opinion of the army, the Egyptian hero would have been left to defend his conquest there: in the absence of another, the choice fell upon him.

On this, several communications were dispatched to Napoleon from the ports of France and Italy, in which Joseph and Lucien pressed his immediate return, to put an end to those evils, which, though mitigated at first, his infernal genius renewed shortly after with more violence than ever.

Reflecting on the above call, and stimulated by the prospect which the deplorable state of France, occasioned by the reverses of foreign wars, and intestine commotions, held out to his

guilty ambition, Napoleon determined to obey the summons, and his departure became a flight.

However desperate his position might have been in Egypt, after the rash expedition against St. John d'Acre, he might have attempted to save the remains of his brave army by an honorable capitulation, which the Turks would have accorded. But is it likely that the English, who had so much interest in the success of the coalition against France, would consent to any arrangement of the above kind, after the retreat of that general who had formerly destroyed several Austrian armies, and carried terror into the very heart of its extensive territories, whose voice was capable of re-animating the soldiery of France, and once more precipitating them into a torrent of destruction and glory? Most probably not. Besides, what a length of time had already been consumed by a negociation of a similar description at El-Arish. Promptitude being as necessary to Bo-

naparte as secrecy, he departed, leaving his conquest to that destiny which had already declared so decidedly against it.

From the bay of Aboukir to Corsica, a passage which occupied a month, Napoleon only saw one English frigate. Landing at Ajaccio, his first care was to obtain all the information he could on the state of politics in France: eagerly interrogating the public functionaries and military, he paid particular attention to the details communicated by M. Coffin, French consul at Cagliari, and who had returned to Corsica in consequence of the war. Being a man of considerable information, and thoroughly acquainted with the state of parties in the capital, the consul satisfied the impatient curiosity of Bonaparte, in giving him the latest journals: the contents of the latter he seemed absolutely to devour; and on reading any passage more immediately connected with his own views, Napoleon, stamping on the ground, would exclaim, "Ah! I shall not get there in time; I shall

be too late!" thus betraying his fears that the revolution meditated by himself would be completed before his arrival. Contrary winds having detained him four days at the above place, they were employed by Napoleon in taking the greatest precautions against capture by the enemy. A post-office felucca, manned with thirty expert rowers, was taken in tow of the corvette, so that in the event of encountering an enemy's vessel, the general could throw himself into this refuge, and thereby gain the coast of Provence. It was thus that Bonaparte began his new career, by improving on the art of running away! He sailed on the third of October, and in three days arrived at Frejus, where Napoleon landed amidst the giddy acclamations of the populace. These spread through France with rapidity, and were quickly followed by the agitation of parties and vain hopes of the people. The army had already resumed an attitude of victory, although the political horizon was still covered with clouds.

The contending parties, some of whom were to be found amongst the principal authorities of government, seemed busy in preparing the approaching catastrophe. Although the democrats could not boast a numerical majority in the two legislative assemblies, its place was amply supplied by their boldness and activity: these qualities had recently enabled them to adopt various revolutionary measures, such as the law of hostages, forced loan, &c. One party, which included many of our principal statesmen, took advantage of these measures for the purpose of depreciating and vilifying the weakness of that constitution which had been already so often violated. Though previously attached to the revolutionary car, this party had at length recognized the chief conservative principle in political society.

These republicans, who had for seven years convulsed France and all Europe, to insure the triumph of their metaphysical abstrac-

tions, or rather to invade riches and power; men, who still shuddered at the name of a paternal and hereditary domination, acknowledged, notwithstanding, that without *unity* in the executive power all must soon fall into confusion and tumult. But, as if ashamed to confess their former error, they wished to persuade people that this *necessary unity* could not be injurious to *their* republic. Constrained to admit an axiom, they denied its consequences. If sincere, Bonaparte lost no time in rectifying their judgment.

It is not our intention to detail the revolution of the ninth of November, already so often described in other works. If we dwell on that memorable and deceitful day, it is because the principal events of it are closely connected with the object of these memoirs. In passing rapidly over them, we shall notice some facts which are very little known, taking care at the same time to select those most calculated to deve-

lope the public and private character of that personage whose history we are desirous of illustrating.

On the arrival of Napoleon at Paris, Lucien, who was by far the most active member of the anti-jacobin party, began to direct his attention more immediately to the object in view. It was no longer a question of resistance, with respect to the opposing faction, which it became absolutely necessary to vanquish and destroy. To this end, Lucien adopted all the methods which caresses, entreaty, and persuasion could suggest, to bring the members of the two councils over, which it was of most consequence to gain. With the timid, his success arose from drawing a melancholy picture of those calamities which the anarchists were preparing for the nation; while his own nomination to the presidency of the Council of Five Hundred was an event highly favourable to the proposed movement.

Siéyes, on his side, united with his colleague,

Ducos. The coalition of these two members left a doubtful majority to the Directory, according as Barras, who despised the other two, might happen to decide; and his partizans gave him credit for the courage necessary on such an occasion. Lucien no longer followed the plans of Siéyes, as he had others which were more comformable to the ambition of his brother, who was by this time made fully acquainted with the secret intentions of his party. It was neither for the Duke of Brunswick, or the legitimate dynasty, that the manœuvres of Lucien were so mysteriously conducted, but for the elevation of his own family. He went to the house of Madame Récamier, at Bagatelle, every night, where his plans were concerted with some other deputies; so that it was at the house of "the lady of his thoughts" that Lucien matured the scheme of usurpation, which was afterwards destined to cost so many bitter tears to France.

The day being at length fixed, on the seventh

of November, sixteen members, chiefly selected from the commission of inspectors of the two councils, secretly assembled at the residence of Lemercier, president of the ancients, and one of the party.*

Proceeding to business, this conventicle made a minute of the decree, which was to transfer the legislative body to Saint Cloud, and at the same time gave the supreme command of the army, contained in the military division of Paris, to Bonaparte. During the nights of the eighth and ninth the inspectors of the Council of

* The representatives thus assembled, consisted of Lemercier, Lucien Bonaparte, Boulay, (de la Meurthe), Regnier, Courtois, Cabanis, Villetard, Baraillon, Cornet, Fargues, Boutéville, Vimar, Frégville, Goupil-Préfeln, junr. Herwyn, Cornudes, Rousseau, Le Jarry, Chazel, and Delecloy. Not one of these gentlemen suffered themselves to be forgotten in the new order of things; thinking, no doubt, with Joan of Arc, it was no more than just for all those who had partaken in the peril to share in the profits. Hence their appointments to be senators, councillors of state, tribunes, and even ministers.

Ancients prepared an extraordinary convocation of that body, which was to meet at eight o'clock in the morning. The notice of this sitting was sent to the members' houses only three hours before the time of meeting, care being taken that none should be delivered at those of the popular party. On opening the debate, the commission alluded to the imminent dangers which threatened the national representation and safety of the republic from the *liberticide** faction, and finally succeeded in causing the adoption of those measures which had been previously concerted, almost without any opposition. The members who were not summoned arrived after the opening, but their resistance was unavailing. The Council of Five Hundred, which had also assembled long before the usual hour, hastened to adjourn immediately after its having

* A term which had been consecrated in the revolutionary nomenclature.

agreed to the resolution transmitted by that of the Ancients, while the inspectors of both chambers remained in permanency, and arranged with the principals conspirators to demand the exclusion of sixty members from the legislative body.

Bonaparte had in the mean time assumed the command with which the above decree had invested him. Ten thousand men were by his orders assembled near the Tuilleries. General Lefevre, who was named his lieutenant, read the decree, which was already placarded in every direction; and Napoleon added, that he knew another order of things was in preparation, *and that the bayonets of the soldiers should persuade those who opposed the wishes of the councils.* These words, leaving all party spirit out of the question, were much more worthy a chief of banditti than a French general to whom the fate of the nation had just been confided. But the bayonet has ever been the irresistible argument

of Napoleon, and his great moving principle. He had invoked it in his proclamation to the army of Italy when supporting those very men against whom he was destined, two years after, to draw out the same soldiery. As a general, consul, or emperor, it was always the real source of *his* power.

Siéyes and Ducos had sent their resignation as members of the Directory into the inspectors of the Council of Ancients previous to Bonaparte's drawing out the troops; and Barras did so, about twelve o'clock, while the usurper happened to be officiating with them. Botot, the ex-director's secretary, delivered it, and in a low voice asked the general, with whom he had been formerly very intimate, what his old patron and protector had to expect from him. "Tell that man," replied Napoleon, "that I do not wish to see him any more!" and then raising his voice so as to be heard by the officers and soldiers who crowded round the hall and entrance of the commission, exclaimed:—"What,

have you done with that France which I left so brilliant? I left you in peace, and find you in war: I left you victorious, and only see reverses: leaving you the millions of Italy, I have found nothing but laws of spoliation and misery. What have you done with the hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew, all the companions of my glory? They are dead! .....

"This state of things cannot last: it would in three years reduce us to despotism. But we wish for a republic, and that should be founded on equality, morals, civil liberty, and political toleration!"

The above harangue, so curious in the mouth of Bonaparte, might in a few years after have served as an act of accusation against himself.

On the next day, tenth of November, the Council of Five Hundred assembled in the orangery of Saint Cloud, where the sitting was opened at two o'clock. Upon this occasion all the popular faction took care to attend, and, as

might be expected, were not only furious, but predetermined to contend every step of ground with their opponents. It was proposed to exclude the popular members by fresh nominations; but as this trick could not be kept secret, it was abandoned, for fear of suggesting some counterplot to the Jacobin party.

It was evident from the first moment of assembling that a storm was to be the result. And scarcely had one of the conspirators proposed the appointment of an extraordinary commission, charged to present those measures of public safety which the circumstances of the nation required, when he was interrupted by the most tumultuous cries, in which was heard, "The constitution! the constitution! Down with the dictators! Why are we at Saint Cloud? For what reason are we surrounded by an army?" Lucien, the president, to whom some strong personal allusions were made, observed, "that he felt the dignity of his high office too much to reply to the in-

sults of a desperate party." These words only served to increase the disorder: the most noisy vociferations resounded through the assembly. It was in vain that the president attempted to allay the tempest: weariness could alone bring a little tranquillity. During a short interval of calmness, the Jacobins proposed a renewal of the constitutional oath: their vehemence carried the point, and it was forthwith administered to each member in regular succession.

While both parties were perjuring themselves in the legislative body and Council of Ancients, Bonaparte appeared at the bar of the latter, and, surrounded with generals, made a set speech, of which the following is a specimen. "If I had any projects of usurpation, they would have been already realized: since my return, the instigators have pressed me to seize on the government; Barras and Moulin have even made solicitations to that effect. I rejected such overtures, because *liberty is dear*

to me. Do not let us divide: associate your wisdom and firmness to the force which surrounds me: I shall be merely an arm, devoted to the safety of the republic,"—"*and the constitution!*" cried a member. "The constitution!" rejoined Napoleon; "can you invoke it?—Does it still exist? Has it not been the sport of every party, and trampled under foot on the fourth of September, the eleventh of May, and sixth of June?" Continuing his discourse, Napoleon farther insisted on the necessity of accelerating the proposed measures: strangers were ordered to withdraw: then, addressing himself to the military, who remained at their posts in the hall, he promised them internal and external peace, telling them to turn their bayonets againgst him, if ever he should stray from the path of liberty.

Night had already commenced, when Bonaparte quitted the Council of Ancients, and directing a body of grenadiers to follow, he

presented himself before the Council of Five Hundred, leaving the soldiers at the entrance. Although some have denied it, there is no doubt of his going there for the purpose of carrying off the chiefs of the popular party. Scarcely had he made a few steps in the chamber, when a crowd of members hastened towards the tribune before him, and the only cry now heard, was, "*Down with the tyrant! down with Cromwell! outlaw the dictator!*"

Several publications of the day stated that a number of deputies produced poignards and pistols on the above occasion: the eye-witnesses of that interesting scene were more correct; and saw no arms whatever. Some representatives had certainly taken precautions against the worst, particularly that of providing for personal defence; but they were not so absurd as to run the risk of exciting the vengeance of the soldiers, by the use of idle menaces, which could produce no benefit. Such was the effect this scene of tumult had

on Bonaparte, that he became nearly motionless. Forsaken by his wonted assurance, he endeavoured, with a palid countenance, to stammer out a few words by way of justification, and then turning his affrighted regards towards the soldiery, who stood at the door, it was a call for them; and General Lefevre instantly advanced into the assembly with a party of grenadiers, when Napoleon made the best of his way out under their protection. It was at this moment that the grenadier Thomé is said to have received the blow of a stiletto in his clothes, which Arena intended for Bonaparte, but the truth of this story has been also doubted by many.

On getting safely clear of his enemies, the terrified usurper constantly repeated, "they wanted to kill me, and wished to place me out of the protection of the laws." People now saw, for the first time, that this man was very far from possessing courage equal to his good fortune. Even in the field of battle it has been

frequently observed, that his bravery displayed none of that fearless indifference which has distinguished our more illustrious warriors—with him it has been a species of dissimulation, combined with a superstitious belief in his superior destiny.

Nothing could exceed the confusion which prevailed in the Council of Five Hundred, on the escape of Bonaparte. A number of voices were heard calling for the president, who, quitting his chair, rushed towards the tribune, and when there, exclaimed—"You calumniate my brother in supposing him capable of entertaining any views hostile to liberty; on the contrary, no man has given more pledges to support it than himself; and I have no doubt that he came into the assembly for the express purpose of making some important communication relative to the state of public affairs." But the orator's efforts were lost in the midst of vociferation and invective: many of the members repeated the proposition of outlawing

Napoleon. It was in vain that Lucien, wishing to defend the latter, endeavoured to make himself heard in the assembly, till at length, collecting all his force, as a last effort, he exclaimed, "What! do you wish me to become the assassin of my brother?—never!—I would rather tear off the magisterial robes." On saying this, he threw down his cloak and sash, when another picquet of grenadiers, who were on the watch outside, rushed in a second time, and surrounding the president, bore him away, loaded with the execrations and hisses of the assembly.

Having reached the court-yard, Lucien mounted on horseback, and addressing the troops in a most vehement tone, declared, that "some miscreants still held poignards ready to plunge into the bosom of a large majority of the council; that they had rebelled against the Ancients, wishing to sacrifice the general appointed to put the decree of that body into execution; that it was those very incendiaries,

who, by their attempts against public liberty, deserved to be placed out of the protection of the laws.—Warriors," he added, "deliver the majority of your representatives from the oppression under which they labour. General, soldiers, and citizens, you will only recognize, as legislators of France, those who follow their president. As to those who remain in the orangery, *let the armed force expel them:* those brigands are no longer the representatives of the people, but of the poignard. LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC!"

To this specimen of revolutionary eloquence succeeded an order to clear the orangery, upon which Murat and some other generals headed the troops, and marched towards it with drums beating. A dead silence seemed to have by this time succeeded the previous agitation which reigned in the council; and just as the grenadiers made their appearance, the deputies, rising from their seats, exclaimed, "*Live the republic!*" when an officer advanced, and

mounting the tribune, cried, "Representatives, withdraw; the general has given orders to that effect." Although several members obeyed the injunction, those of the opposition were unwilling to yield. On seeing this, another officer, said to be Murat, exclaimed in a loud tone, "Advance, grenadiers!" No time was lost by the latter, who, marching up through the hall with charged bayonets, filled the deputies with such terror and dismay, that the whole flew towards the doors, and throwing off the costume, which exposed them to the hooting soldiery, sought safety in flight.

Some of the fugitives having joined the Council of Ancients, which had itself been the scene of partial agitations during the day, one of them stated that the national representation had just experienced a most unheard of outrage, and that an armed force had dissolved the Council of Five Hundred: the speaker concluded by inviting the assembly to adopt

such measures as the exigency of the moment seemed to require.

Lucien, who had followed the flying deputies, hearing the above, thus addressed the meeting:—"You are imposed upon, citizens: the armed force which is said to have outraged the national representation consisted merely of a few grenadiers, who, following their officers, *caused a slight movement in the council.* Do you call assassins, armed with poignards, representatives? They attacked myself, aided by accomplices who occupied the tribune; and the cannibals even wished me to pronounce the outlawry of my brother. A handful of factious agitators tyrannize over the Council of Five Hundred; but the majority adheres to that of the Ancients, and applaud its wisdom."

This discourse, when compared with the other parts of Lucien's conduct, was another singularity in the history of that memorable day. The bitterest recrimination continued to

ring through the hall, and was only terminated by the Ancients deciding that the report made out by the extraordinary commission, appointed a few hours before, should be read; and, without deliberating on the proposals it contained, the sitting was adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening.

As however the Ancients could not give a character of legality to their resolutions, the dissolution of the Council of Five Hundred became a source of considerable embarrassment: this gave rise to messengers being despatched after the dispersed members of that body, who, with the exception of the opposite party, were induced to reassemble, when the whole formed a tolerably numerous sitting.

Both councils met at the same moment, while the military and other friends of the victorious faction filled the galleries. In the Council of Five Hundred the deputy Berenger made a speech replete with bombast and declamation, which he concluded by a vote of

thanks to the generals Bonaparte, Lefevre, Murat, and Gardanne, also to the different regiments which had been at Saint Cloud during the day.

Lucien, having again quitted the chair, followed up some other harangues like that of the first speaker, by an elaborate oration, in which he called the council's attention to what remained unfinished of their work. "Let us discuss," said he, "with all the frankness of our characters, the situation of the country. If, influenced by misplaced considerations of weakness or pusillanimity, we neglect to change the wretched condition to which the greatest people on earth is reduced, our glory is from this moment at an end, and we cannot long preserve our power: when the measure of public calamity is full, the people's indignation naturally increases." ..... Speaking of those individuals who composed the vanquished party, he asked, "do they imagine that we have forgotten those days of mourning when terror and dismay

once more overspread the menacing horizon?—Can we forget their convention scheme, committee of public safety, and plan of universal carnage? Did they speak of a constitution then? No! When surrounded by murderers, they exclaimed that the people must save themselves, and we were no longer of the popular party. Audacious conspirators! they called for insurrection at that time, and now, like cowardly camelions, they invoke that very charter on which they had already laid their sanguinary hands."

Every sentence of this speech was received with transport, so that Lucien became quite the hero of the day. But he was less eloquent towards the end of the debate, when the three consuls, Siéyes, Bonaparte, and Ducos, who had been named as the temporary successors of the directory, came forward, on the demand of the deputy Fregville, to swear the oath of inviolable fidelity to the sovereign people, and the French republic, to liberty, equality, and the representative system.—

"French liberty," said the president, "born in the tennis court of Versailles,* has reached us, a prey to all the convulsive maladies of infancy, and this day assumed the robe of maturity. All her agitations are henceforth at an end.† Representatives of the people, listen to the *sublime cry* of posterity! If liberty was born in the tennis court of Versailles, it was consolidated in the orangery of Saint Cloud. The constituents of 1789 were the fathers of the revolution, but the legislators of the eighth year are the fathers and pacificators of the nation."

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* This alludes to the spirited resistance of the deputies at Versailles, June 20, 1789, when, after being refused admittance into the regular hall of assemblage, they proceeded to the above place, and, headed by the celebrated Bailly, mayor of Paris, took an oath not to separate or suspend their unanimous efforts till the constitution of the kingdom was restored, and public regeneration completely effected. See Rabaut's Précis Historique, &c. p. 135.—*Ed.*

† This truth escaped Lucien rather indiscreetly: it was probably an oversight of his novitiate.

This liberty, which assumed the virile robe, the tennis court, and orangery of Saint Cloud, which were to become the object of sublime homage to posterity, those legislators of the eighth year, compared to that assembly, one of whose committees contained more talents and information than the Council of Five Hundred and Ancients put together, thoroughly marked the emphatic puerility of language which distinguished the orators of the revolutionary school.

Thus ended the tenth of November, 1799, a day which was memorable no doubt, though not by the circumstances and confusion attending it (these being nearly the same in the crisis of all great revolutions), but from its very fatal and unforseen consequences. To that dreadful day are we indebted for a government under which France was destined to groan for many years, doomed to see her morals vitiated, population cut off, commerce destroyed, and her soil impoverished. To the events of that

day we owe the demoralization which has ended in egotism, a love of false glory and hatred to religion; we have to thank the never to be forgotten tenth of November for those seeds of discord which even at this moment desolate our provinces, cities, and families. Finally, we may thank it for all the cruelties and horrors of foreign invasion.

It is true that the men who fell from power, on this occasion, had become no less odious by their principles than their actions; we might even have had some cause to congratulate ourselves on escaping from their grasp; but supposing them capable of establishing their frightful domination, could they have sustained it? ..... Would not the edifice of power so obtained have soon crumbled into dust, in the hands of a party detested by the people, despised by the armies, and alike destitute of talents and reputation? Exalted on its tribunal of blood, would not the consequent delirium have led to its speedy fall, and another revolution succeed.

ed? France would have derived infinitely more consolation from the palm of peace than all the laurels gathered in the field of Marengo; the former might have produced a real prosperity under those princes which were destined to reign over it on a future day; she would, no doubt, have experienced all the evils of reaction and revolution; but these would have been exhausted after a few months of agitation. Ten years of servitude under a destructive government—alas! it was too long a probation.

In the midst of this violent shock, in which political passions were called into such ruinous activity, it must be confessed that a minister of police, who wished to survive the storm and defy revolution, had no trifling task to perform; but it was not beyond the talents and address of him who then wielded the sceptre of that formidable office. But what were the objects of this zealot, in favour of equality, power, and riches? Having closely watched

the event, he might be said to have caught those who were to remain masters of the field in the fact. Being timely informed that the bayonets of Napoleon's grenadiers had overpowered the noisy vociferations and impotent resistance of the demagogues, he caused a placard of unconditional adhesion, and extatic obedience to the victor, to be put up all over Paris that very night. He even boasted the next day of having paralized the efforts of several deputies, and some generals, who might have impeded the modern Cromwell's success. The minister's duplicity triumphed; and Bonaparte, who was then rather happy in his inspirations, conceived that the co-operation of Fouché was necessary to him in his proposed plan to deceive and enchain all parties. It was in vain that the secretary-general of the police, Joseph Thurot, a young man full of assurance, sagacity, and talent, placed his hopes of supplanting the minister, on being admitted to the circles of Josephine. While rocking in the cradle of that

illusory scheme, which the notice of Napoleon's wife had formed, he was foiled and thrown out, leaving an undisturbed arena to the revolutionary veteran, happy, since that period, in being allowed to return into the latter's good graces, and become one of his most expert and devoted myrmidons.

The real author of those events which signalized the ninth of November must be looked for in Lucien; nor is there now any doubt of his having prevented the demagogues of the Council of Five Hundred from profiting by the embarrassment and fright of Napoleon, and putting him to death in the very spot to which he came for the purpose of ordering them to disperse. Though surrounded with clamours, and threatened on every side, in his capacity of president, to put the question of outlawry against his brother, and which from the moment of its adoption would have totally changed the disposition of the soldiery employed to dissolve that assembly, nothing could

induce his compliance. Five grenadiers, into whose arms Bonaparte fell almost in a fainting state, would have been a weak barrier against the fury of the deputies; and if Lucien had not courageously resisted those who came to tear him from the president's chair, the whole plot must not only have failed, but have been turned into an engine of destruction to its authors.

As to the friends of Lucien, they considered the above day as giving him a title to eternal glory; nor did he himself hesitate to consider it as the most glorious epoch of his political life. Impressed with this idea, he was desirous that the event should be commemorated on canvass. A whole-length portrait was consequently ordered, in which Lucien appeared standing, ornamented with his costume as president of the Council of Five Hundred, and holding a scroll, on which the artist had inscribed *The Ninth of November*. The reader has seen how deeply Lucien was implicated in

that conspiracy, which would never have been accomplished without his aid. Yet he, also, betrayed signs of weakness on the above day; for on seeing his brother driven from the Council of Five Hundred, and retiring in a state of apparent insensibility, surrounded by a group of soldiers, and perceiving that the anti-jacobin faction seemed to regard the circumstance as a species of victory for themselves, he became greatly alarmed for the result, and is even said to have been compelled to pray. It was not until the assembly wished to extort the condemnation of his brother that nature seemed to revive in Lucien; and this was certainly an imposing scene. But had he a right to resign the presidency in a moment of popular danger? And if he had, was there no risk in re-assuming the duties of that office? Every thing succeeded, because the event depended on soldiers, upon whom the commands and example of their officers had more effect than the vehement exhortations of Lucien,

whose person and manner was by no means impressive on the above occasion. It appears to us that he would have played a much nobler part, if during the universal confusion in which the council was involved, he had known how to preserve that courageous inflexibility which became the head of so dignified an assembly.

The constitution of 1799, which established a consular government, was the result of this new revolution; and succeeded the provisional one, appointed to act immediately after its promulgation on the tenth of November.

By way of recompensing the energy which Lucien displayed on that day, the port-folio of the interior was confided to his care: this ministry, which directs the general administration, superintending the resources and prosperity of the state, which presides over public education, the fine arts, and literature, and dispenses public fame, as it were, could not fail to tempt the ambition of Lucien. Although his

official duties were marked by a considerable degree of firmness and activity, they were certainly influenced by the characteristic inconstancy of his disposition; nor could the limited experience of a person who had not long passed his twenty-fifth year have tended to facilitate his turn for public business. It was also remarked that Lucien's administration manifested a degree of harshness and severity fully equal to that of his brother in the government. His first care was that of making various encroachments and innovations on other departments; he wished to realize the principle of civil over military precedence: in this no one could blame the minister; but he did not take the most effectual means of supporting the prefects in their struggle for power, which existed between them and the generals commanding military divisions. His orders to the departments were not only too multiplied, but very frequently bore evident marks of precipitation. Lucien had the credit

of destroying the previous forms of several offices under his ministry, in wishing to simplify them, while the new organization he established could not be maintained. These errors were not, however, without some benefits. From the first moment of his nomination, the ministry acquired a character for energy and elevation which excited the utmost respect; and the removal of Lucien was regretted on more than one account, while the public was justified in believing that had he continued much longer to exercise the functions of his office, it might have enabled him to rectify the erroneous principles and false theories which had so often led him astray in the first instance.

If it be true that Lucien's short administration deserves to be criticised, we ought, at least, to agree that it gave a considerable degree of celebrity to the ministry of the interior. By the adoption of a high tone, great circumspection, and certain studied mysteries of office,

Lucien made up for that profound knowledge so necessary to a minister of state, which he had not time to acquire by long practice. These qualities, which every politician can assume, tended to create opinions highly favourable to his capacity and genius. Without any sacrifice of personal dignity, he also knew how to assume the most amiable suavity of manners towards people of every distinction. There was, however, a degree of affectation betrayed on such occasions, which proved that the alliance of qualities generally opposite was not altogether natural. As long as he had any important functions to perform, the milder virtues which emanate from real greatness of soul were never seen, for his rank absorbed every other consideration on such occasions. But Lucien had one quality entirely peculiar to himself, which was particularly serviceable to his official situation: this was his extreme fondness for public processions, and other pompous ceremonies, acquired by his study of the

nations of antiquity and their governments. His imagination, which partook somewhat of the Italian, that is to say, of energy and animation, gave him a turn for all that was solemn and theatrical. Lucien was also of opinion that public ceremonies produce an amazing effect on the people, and tend considerably to facilitate the action of political government.

It was Lucien who superintended the solemnity of the twenty-third of September, 1800, than which a more brilliant festival had not taken place since the commencement of the revolution. The mayors of every city in France, and deputations from all parts, together with an immense number of citizens from the opulent classes of society, came to Paris. The most splendid entertainments were given in honour of the notables and public functionaries. All the preparations were no less ingeniously arranged than magnificently executed, while a great variety of pastimes served to amuse the populace. To all these,

a religious and warlike ceremony was added, which tended greatly to heighten the scene. The remains of Turenne, which had been rescued from the church of St. Denis, when the tombs of our king were profaned, was deposited at the museum of French monuments. It was now determined to transport them to the church of the invalids, as belonging more immediately to that sanctuary, which was at this time called the Temple of Victory. The interior of the dome had been hung with innumerable flags taken from the enemy during the unexampled war of eight years. The transfer was made in procession, and with all possible pomp. Arriving at the temple, the minister of the interior pronounced a kind of funeral oration, in which the great virtues of the hero, who fell at Salzbach, served as a pretext to commemorate the gigantic enterprises of the late wars, and extol the revolution. The last part of this elaborate commentary obtained prodigious celebrity, and served as a motto to several pam-

phlets afterwards published under the protection of government. It was as follows: "On the tenth of November contention disappeared: and faction fled; while all that was really French came forward."

We have already shown Lucien's anxiety to appear in the tribune, and have little doubt but this wish was suggested by an idea of his own talents as an orator. But did the president really possess these talents? He has certainly a marked countenance and expressive physiognomy: his eyes are lively and penetrating; to which he unites a good figure. Notwithstanding all these advantages, Lucien could not, during his legislative and ministerial career, acquire that nobleness of mien, and dignity of address, so useful, and even necessary, to statesmen of eminence. On the contrary, all his assurance was required to hide a certain awkward air of scholastic pedantry which he seemed still to retain. But the habit of frequenting the society of the great, and superiority of

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that rank which he held for many years, had latterly enabled him nearly to surmount these defects altogether: it may also be added, that Lucien had very little mastery over the imitative parts of oratory. His voice was by no means favourable to public speaking; being without much strength, rather hoarse, and inclined to a nasal twang. All these defects, which self-love doubtless concealed from himself, were however compensated by a correct pronunciation, just delivery, fire and sentiment; there being occasional moments in which he elicited some sparks of real eloquence. In general, very few people possess such agreeable talents for conversation as Lucien: he speaks with ease and facility on almost every subject. The flexibility of his mind immediately suggests the language he should adopt, and every one is addressed according to the profession he exercises, or the rank he occupies. But it was as a minister of state that he principally wished to shine.

The consular government being still somewhat unsettled, could only derive strength and solidity from peace or victories. The attempts to obtain the former having failed, Napoleon felt a secret pleasure in those refusals which enabled him once more to launch into the career to which he owed all his glory. Every eye was directed towards the Rhine and Alps; but it was evident Bonaparte looked to the theatre of his former exploits; and on departing to join the army, it was settled that Lucien should follow him. The other members of government were jealous of the influence the latter might have had in the councils during his brother's absence; and yet they dreaded his presence with the army. It was therefore at length decided that he should remain in the capital. On the moment of his departure, Napoleon addressed the following circular to the prefects, chiefly remarkable for its brevity.

"Great events are in preparation. The First

Consul has departed. The wishes of France accompany him. It is for you to keep the internal enemies of the country down."

The republican forms still continued in practice, and the administration did not vary from the ceremonies and language of that system. During the first months of his power, Bonaparte really appeared to be nothing more than the magistrate of the people, and chief of the soldiery. But, on his return from Marengo, a totally different plan was adopted; or, rather, he began to develope that which had been already conceived. In restoring confidence to the nation when threatened by foreign invasion, Napoleon seems to have conquered France for himself, and from that moment began to consider the various departments of the state as so many instruments which were merely necessary for the exercise of his power.

Some people firmly believe to this day, that Lucien had, from its very commencement, manifested great opposition to this growing mo-

narchy; but they are in error. It is certain, on the contrary, that he endeavoured to establish one, but on more moderate principles. In the first instance, he dreaded that unbounded authority which Napoleon had learned habitually to assume in the midst of a camp. Confounding personal ambition with his zeal as a statesman, vain of his services on the tenth of November, and full of confidence in his talents, he combatted the mandates which were addressed to him as minister with great energy. Equally ambitious as his brother, he was at first desirous that the government should be confided to two consuls; one of these could have been invested with the command of the army, and left to superintend foreign policy, while the other should direct the affairs of the interior. Napoleon might have filled the first place, and Lucien the second. Seeing, however, that he could obtain nothing; that his brother wished to arrogate the supreme power; observing with no less jealousy than chagrin the commencement

of those vast designs which Napoleon entertained; the latter determined to attempt every thing to render them abortive. Hence his obstinate refusal of those offers which were made to him at every subsequent period.

As this family quarrel advanced, Fouché, in his secret reports, began indirectly to turn against Lucien, chiefly dwelling on his luxurious mode of living and dissolute manners, which the former stated to have excited great disapprobation from the more respectable part of the nation. This gave Napoleon a pretence for reproaching Lucien with his profusion, and the public notoriety of his conduct in other respects.* The latter retorted the charge in his

* Lucien had acquired a certain degree of celebrity with the ladies; and without being much sought after, held a distinguished rank amongst the most notorious intriguers of the capital. Mademoiselle Mezeray, one of the prettiest actresses in Paris, considered our hero as one of her chief protectors. The extravagance of this lady could only be equalled by the inconstancy of her lover, whose passions, though somewhat impetuous, were not

turn, accusing his brother of aiming at tyranny, and forgetting the services to which he owed

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of long continuance, particularly when no obstacles interfered to stimulate them.

The lovely actress, after having obtained a round sum, splendid equipage, and elegantly furnished house, was extremely anxious to become the owner of a hotel in the capital, and possess a few diamonds. These *trifles* were frequently demanded, and as often promised; but to promise and perform is not exactly the same thing; besides, the minister of the interior's *forte* was not generosity, any more than constancy.

To gratify the first of these very moderate desires, Lucien hired one of the best houses in Paris, and paid a year's rent in advance: with respect to the second, so impatiently expected, two very magnificent ornaments were certainly purchased, and received by poor Mezeray with all the ardour of a mercenary lover; but, alas! she had, like many others, calculated without her host, and never dreamt that the friend of her heart had merely lent them. In fact, six weeks had scarcely passed when Lucien seriously thought of getting back his diamonds. A slight indisposition having retained the nymph in her chamber for some days, the brilliants were in the interim attached to a small cushion which lay on the mantle-piece. One morning, as the enamoured minister had concluded his toilet, and was on the point of taking leave for the day, he suddenly exclaimed, "Good heavens! my love, how very shabbily those diamonds are mounted: they are

his elevation. From this moment, the situation of Lucien, with respect to his brother, became extremely delicate. He had no idea of a superior, and Napoleon could not bear the thought of having an equal.

really horrible?" "No, indeed, my dear," replied the dulcinea, "those are the beautiful ornaments of which you made me a present; they are even superb, and excite the envy and admiration of all my companions." "You don't perceive it, my angel," rejoined the statesman, "but I assure you this setting savours strongly of the brasier; these drops really appear as if they had belonged to my grandmother: I can't think of your wearing them in this state, and shall, therefore, immediately send them to Fritz Devilliers,† and when properly set they shall be returned to you." A malady which attacked Lucien soon after this endearing interview caused a rupture between the two lovers, when Mademoiselle Mezeray lost at one blow her diamonds, protector, and health. She had scarcely began to recover the latter, when a person called to know whether she wished to continue in the hotel, adding, that if so, the rent must be increased. This new proof of perfidy, which the heroine was very far from expecting, affected her most sensibly, and ended in a severe nervous disorder.

† A jeweller of very little ability, who, after having long occupied a small shop in the Place Dauphine, took a magnificent house on the Quai Voltaire. He supplied Lucien, Murat, and his wife, Madam Bacciochi, &c.

Such was the origin of this famous dispute and those violent scenes which eventually led to the parties separating.

In one of those quarrels which so frequently succeeded the first breach, Lucien happening to throw down his port-folio of minister on the table at which Napoleon was seated, the latter called his guards, crying, "Soldiers, turn this citizen out, he has treated the First Consul with disrespect!" On another occasion, when Bonaparte spoke rather harshly of Madam Letitia, with whom Lucien was the great favourite, "you may say whatever you think proper to *me*," said Lucien, "but do not outrage my mother."

About this period two domestic factions disputed for favour and pre-eminence with Napoleon: one, that of the brothers, was headed by Lucien, while the other included the family of Beauharnois, and was led by Josephine: the latter prevailed over its rival, no less on account of her extreme complaisance to Napoleon,

than the secret empire of her daughter Hortensia over a husband who was notorious for the capricious instability of his affections. Josephine's party also received considerable support from the minister of police, who was by this time in open opposition to Lucien, owing to the artful combinations displayed in his mysterious reports. By the impulse given to political factions, or the machinations attributed to them, Fouché could always excite either hope or fear in the mind of his master. It was upon this pernicious foundation that the cunning minister established his credit, of which he was the more certain, from the circumstance of Bonaparte's excessive anxiety to render his power permanent, as well as placing the final success of his usurpation on the tortuous intrigues of his minister. Fouché, on his part, not only resisted the attacks of his enemies by means of Bourienne, the confidential secretary of Napoleon, but he also induced Josephine to advocate his cause. It is well known

that the latter received large sums as a tribute of the minister's gratitude: these were taken from the tax on gambling-houses, and served in some small degree to satisfy a part of that lady's turn for expense and prodigality.

In the meantime Lucien, who had publicly co-operated for the elevation of his family, continued to persist in his original views, and, previous to an open rupture, wished to advance that revolution which he, as yet, merely considered in its infancy. In pursuance of this plan, each prefect suddenly received a case containing a number of pamphlets, equal to all the public functionaries in his department: these were enclosed under cover, and regularly addresssed to the parties, together with a short circular, which was to supply the necessity of a particular communication, while it alluded very plainly to the author's object. The title of this little volume was as follows:—*A Parallel between Cromwell, Monck, and Bonaparte!* and, amongst other things, it

contained a strong appeal in favour of the monarchy: although no explanation to that effect accompanied the pamphlets, there was very little difficulty in divining the author. On the day following their being forwarded to the respective addresses, a letter from the minister of police directed that the pamphlet's circulation should be immediately stopped, *it being the result of a contemptible and guilty intrigue.* Such were the expressions of the minister. Fouché did not lose this opportunity of raising a loud cry against Lucien at the Tuileries, publicly asserting that the attempt was puerile and premature.

The fact is, that both Fouché and the Beauharnois party were very unwilling for any popular movement to emanate from Lucien, whose credit with the people being established on the success of the late change, must have naturally increased, by a fortunate effort in favour of monarchical authority.

In effect, two or three months after, that

which the minister of police called a *contemptible and guilty intrigue*, became, in the hands of young Beauharnois, then commanding the flank companies of the guard, a much more successful undertaking, and was almost acknowledged by the government itself, Eugene having circulated a pamphlet amongst the soldiery and in public, written with precisely the same views as that which issued from the closet of Lucien, and was so publicly censured by the minister of police. It was now, in fact, plainly seen, that Napoleon, disdaining the influence of the administration and civil authority, placed all his hopes on the connivance and support of the army.

The enemies of Lucien foreseeing that the energy of his character, and extravagant pretensions, would soon bring on a rupture, were not disappointed in their hopes, as it actually took place at the end of a quarrel, infinitely more violent than any preceding one, and in which Lucien threatened Napoleon with pulling

him down, as he had raised him up: on this occasion the two brothers separated in such a way as to render their future reconciliation very improbable.

From the above moment, the First Consul was only anxious to get Lucien out of his way, so that the embassy to Madrid was nothing less than a disgrace and pompous exile. To prevent, however, these domestic dissensions from being publicly known, Chaptal was only nominated to succeed Lucien for the time being; and six months were suffered to elapse before the former was confirmed as minister of the interior.

Scarcely had Lucien departed for Spain, when people began openly to abuse both his administration and person. He was represented as a modern Sardanapalus, given up to sensuality, and employing his power and riches to gratify the worst passions; above all, his boundless extravagance and inconsiderate profusion was loudly censured. These accusations

were greatly exaggerated by some, while envy and malevolence gave rise to others. It should also be observed, that when Lucien's conduct had thus become the object of such severe animadversion, a parsimony the most ignoble had been for some time adopted by nearly all the other officers of state, so that any one who departed from the general rule was sure of exciting surprise, if not disapprobation.

While a minister, the interior arrangements of Lucien's house displayed the utmost refinement of luxury, although there was nothing very magnificent in the appearance either of his servants or equipages: taken altogether, his table, the purchase of a country house near Senlis, and expense of keeping up that establishment, did not exceed the emoluments of his office. He certainly gave some brilliant parties, and devoted a portion of his means to the encouragement of the arts. Lucien also affected another kind of greatness, that of designedly losing money to his friends at play. These were

doubtless the chief causes of his reputation for extravagance. It was also said that he not only favoured, but even received a considerable profit on the exportation of corn:—this is true, but he did so by the authority of his brother, who gave him up some licenses: the benefit arising from these were, however, by no means equal to what people imagined.

From not seeing each other as before, the two brothers became reconciled soon after Lucien's arrival in Madrid. The admiration in which Napoleon was held by the old king of Spain, Charles IV., is well known. Of this we shall cite an example: the latter having sent Bonaparte some horses of a superior breed, said to the person whom he charged to deliver them, "You ought to think yourself happy; and will, ere long, be in the presence of the greatest man in the world: I would most willingly give one of my fingers for such an advantage!"—This weak prince was enchanted at the idea of having so near a relative of the First Consul as

ambassador at his court; nor was there ever a French minister at Madrid who enjoyed more respect and consideration. Lucien soon acquired the most unlimited confidence of their Catholic majesties; but his principal efforts were made to gain the favour of a great princess, and in this he succeeded; at least it is certain that in one of his confidential despatches, the minister boasted of the pains he had taken to insinuate himself into the good graces of such an august personage: he declared, however, that it would be difficult for him to persevere in his assiduities. On returning from his embassy, Lucien did not fail to shew the public how vain he was of his success in so high a quarter, and determined that it should be known, by letting part of a gold chain worn round his neck be seen, at the end of which hung a superb medallion enriched with brilliants, and containing a portrait, a flattering one no doubt, of the great princess, though an old lady, whose conquest he had made.

The extraordinary attention and kindnesses evinced towards Lucien while at the Spanish capital served to increase his fortune, while it contributed to the success of those schemes which he had in contemplation for the farther aggrandizement of his family. He had, in fact, so completely gained the confidence of the royal couple, and penetrated their secrets, that Lucien was not afraid of outstripping time, by doing that for the First Consul in 1801, which the Emperor Napoleon dare not effect till he had subjugated nearly all Europe, in 1810. Although there was no longer any hopes of Josephine becoming a mother, yet an heir was necessary to Bonaparte, not only as it affected the permanency of his elevation, but the stability of his power. This gave rise to a project on the part of Lucien, who conceived the idea of replacing the sterile wife by a young and beautiful infanta of Spain, one of the august house of Bourbon; as by this alliance he hoped to give the new dynasty a better title to the throne, or at least to connect it with

that which France had no farther any expectation of recovering. Lucien's election fell on Isabella, second daughter of the king, sixteen years of age, and now hereditary princess of the two Sicilies. Having communicated his design, and developed his plans to Napoleon, they were instantly approved of, and Lucien himself formally empowered to open this grand negociation. The good king, Charles IV. was not long in ceding the rights of his family, and all considerations of personal dignity, to his blind admiration of the *great man*. He thought it was for the best interests of Spain to renew the close alliance of the two countries, which existed in the time of Louis XIV. and his grandson. The queen, seduced, or overcome, also yielded; and every thing was arranged, so that Napoleon, in preserving the title of Consul, should declare his power hereditary. Matters were in this state when Madame Bonaparte, from whom it had been entirely concealed, whether by some indiscretion on the part of her husband, or the revelations of

Fouché, discovered the whole affair. Her influence over Napoleon was well known: this, as already observed, was derived from her sedulous attentions and unvarying deference to his will. Her efforts were redoubled on the present occasion, when, in addition to tears and entreaties, she not only sent Hortensia to move the First Consul, but suggested a variety of political fears, as likely to arise from the proposed union, and finally carried the day. Instead, therefore, of the last signature, which was hourly expected at Madrid, the ambassador received a positive order to break off the negociation altogether. Foaming with rage, Lucien had no sooner read the despatch, than collecting all the correspondence relative to this important affair, he flew to the palace, and shutting himself up with the king and queen, submitted the whole of his conduct to them. Their Catholic majesties made no hesitation in distinguishing it from that of his brother, directing all their anger and indignation against Napoleon.

In a conversation which Lucien had with

Josephine on his return to Paris, the latter asked, "Is it possible, my brother, that you wished to separate me from the family?" "Yes," replied the former, "by sacrificing my affections for the good of the state!" This ingenious answer did not disarm the rage of Josephine; and it is from the period of the Spanish negociation that we may date that hatred between Lucien and the Beauharnois family, which became thenceforth every day more violent.

A few months before the above affair, Portugal had been forced to make some territorial cessions in favour of Spain, as the price of escaping invasion by a French army, already on the frontiers for that purpose. And by a secret article of the treaty of Badajoz, the Prince of the Brazils was to pay thirty millions of francs, which sum was equally divided between France and Spain. Godoy, the intimate friend of Lucien, kept fifteen millions for himself: the ambassador, who appeared to exact

the other half for his share of the spoil, appropriated only ten millions of the money to his own wants, while the remaining third formed the first casual fund of Napoleon's privy purse, which till then had not been very plentifully supplied. The above ten millions is all the money carried off by Lucien on his quitting Spain. The extent of some other money transactions, which his credit facilitated, was greatly magnified; besides, their produce was almost entirely absorbed by the acquisition of various works of art, secret service money, and other ostensible disbursements. The sums laid out in the purchase of pictures, during a period of eight months, was eleven hundred thousand francs: the other expenses, being distributed amongst various individuals, cannot be so easily particularized.

It was now that Lucien began to form his famous gallery; and he had already acquired some capital pictures of Rebeira, Murillo, and other Spanish masters, when his good fortune

brought an English prize into Malaga, loaded with the furniture and effects of Lord St. Helens, who had quitted his embassy at Constantinople. M. le Thiers, then a follower of Lucien's, was, therefore, commissioned to buy many of those master-pieces which his lordship had collected during his travels.

Lucien's apparent style of living while at Madrid did not exceed in magnificence that which he displayed in the ministry of the interior; nor indeed were there any of the ambassadors in that capital whose dress and equipage showed less pomp. His servants were even unprovided with a livery. But this republican simplicity was altogether external, as the hotel exhibited all those fascinations of superfluous luxury which a large fortune could alone provide: the table was excellent, and generally well attended by numerous guests. If Lucien gave but few general entertainments, it arose from the circumstance of the French government not encouraging many anniversary

days; when, however, a large evening party was received, the visitors were treated with unusual magnificence; and his multiplied liberalities to the Spaniards announced much more than the generosity of a simple individual. At court, too, Lucien seemed to be honoured with the almost undivided attentions of the ladies, and nothing was left undone to favour his gallantries. It was now that he might be said to justify the charge of prodigality made on a former occasion; but money flowed towards him with rapidity, and had not been yet impeded in its course: people seldom stop to reflect on such probabilities while the age of pleasure continues.

Neither decorations, pages, or equerries, surrounded the ambassador in those days. The good old times had not as yet returned; but Lucien took care to be followed by a part of those who composed a kind of little court for him while at Paris. These were, Messrs. Felix Deportes, formerly a secretary-general,

who, having quitted the ministry of the interior with his patron, was given to him as secretary to the embassy; Bacciochi, his brother-in-law, a species of confidential one, but without the title; Arnault, who had held a situation in the department of public instruction, was attached to the legation as an under secretary; but he remained only a very short time at Madrid, having hastily returned to Paris, where he arrived just in time to see one of his tragedies irreparably *damned*; Sapey, private secretary, and particular friend of the ambassador; Le Thiers, an historical painter; Sablé, a painter of landscapes; and M. Paroisse, as physician, a personage whose attempts to be witty rendered him much more ridiculous than facetious. He had, however, the honour of superintending all the entertainments and other gaities of the embassy. Lucien had also brought his second daughter, four years old, with him; but her governess being rather in too subordinate a situation, it was left for M. Felix Desportes to do the honours of the house.

The allurements of pleasure, partiality to the fair sex, and some recommendations, led to the intimacy which subsisted between Lucien and le Thiers, whose patron caused him to be nominated as director to the academy of fine arts at Rome. He is at present a member of that class at the French institute. Having followed Lucien to Spain, le Thiers selected the pictures which he wished to purchase. In other respects, he might be considered as the ambassador's friend.

The Spanish ladies, less volatile than those of France, but more impetuous in their amours, and warmly attached to their lovers, of whom they were extremely jealous, did not by any means relish the ambassador's capricious wanderings. One of their husbands, who heard there was an intrigue going on between Lucien and his wife, was so much out of humour, that he shut the frail fair one up in a convent, and sent a challenge to the lover, who, being naturally brave, took up the gauntlet, and accepted the defiance; but his friends having per-

suaded Lucien that it was beneath the dignity of one who represented so great a nation to risk his life for such a *trifle*, M. le Thiers proposed to take the ambassador's place; and, accordingly, on the next day, this modern knight-errant bravely proceeded to the field of battle, there to await the enraged spouse. Scarcely had the latter arrived at the scene of action, when looking eagerly around, he fiercely asked where his adversary was. "Here I am," replied le Thiers in a haughty tone. "You!" said the Spaniard. "I don't know you, Sir; and a gentleman of my rank is not going to debase himself by entering the lists with a person of your condition. I must see the ambassador himself, and be assured he shall be found." On saying this, the Don re-entered his carriage, and drove back to Madrid, where he was about to publish the outrage he had experienced, when the court, which saw this affair in a much more philosophical light, sent him to a distant country-seat, there to cool the ardour of his agitated feelings.

Having previously installed General Gouvion St. Cyr as the future ambassador, Lucien left Madrid in November, 1801, at which time a part of the French army intended to act against Portugal, before the treaty of Badajoz, was still in Spain. General Rivaud, the commander, aware of the First Consul's brother being about to return home, took care to station escorts of cavalry on the roads along which he had to pass. Lucien had by this time acquired the mania of travelling with treme rapidity, nor did he seem inclined to sacrifice his favourite pursuit, out of mere delicacy to the feelings of those cavaliers who accompanied him on the present occasion. The result of this was, that after going one or two stages, which are very long in Spain, at full gallop, several officers broke down their horses; these were so generously remunerated for the loss, that those who had not experienced a similar one, had some reason to regret the circumstance. Independent of this legitimate

indemnity, the ambassador ordered a liberal gratuity to be given to each escort.

A few months after his arrival at Paris (in March, 1802) Lucien was named a member of the tribunate. It was of the utmost consequence to Napoleon that an active influence should be exercised over this part of the legislative body, to which the constitution left the exclusive right of discussing the various propositions of government. It became still more necessary to repress those efforts which it was incessantly making to ward off the period of national slavery, industriously preparing by the First Consul; and all this the pliant senator undertook to perform.

Two great political measures were adopted after Lucien's nomination, in both of which the new tribune took a leading part. The first was the concordat entered into with Pius VII., in April, 1812; and the second, that of instituting the legion of honour ten months after.

Since the decree of the constituent assembly, called the civil constitution of the clergy, and which Louis XVI. felt so much sorrow at passing into a law, France might be said to continue in a state of schism, with regard to church discipline, if not as to the dogmas of religion. By this law, all bishops, and titular priests, who refused to take an oath which their conscience did not approve, were driven from the altar, and formally interdicted by the *civil authority*. The persons thus discarded were replaced by less conscientious individuals, mostly conventuals, who had revoked their vow of seclusion, or newly-ordained heads of seminaries. Hence the origin of that distinction between the members of the church, which gave the title of sworn or constitutional priests to one party, while the other was stigmatised with the epithet of refractory against which all the rage of persecution had been exerted. The unhappy priesthood who remained constant to their faith, after having suffered every

species of indignity and humiliation, saw themselves forced to fly from France, while those whom a fatal security, poverty, or an attachment to the soil which gave them birth, retained on this all-devouring land, suffered the innumerable ills which usually spring from intolerance blended with ferocity. Numbers of these unfortunate men were butchered in cold blood, or loaded with chains, left to perish in loathsome dungeons; others remained exposed to all the horrors of penury, or a slow and intolerable persecution.

But even before the unheard-of excesses thus shortly alluded to, the newly appointed titulars were attacked in their turn. The most dreadful sacrilege and monstrous profanation divided the empire of Saint Louis, until towards 1794, these national curses triumphed in leaving the temples without a religion, and altars without a priesthood. Let us no longer dwell on that terrible period of popular phrenzy, infinitely surpassing the most deplorable ones

which the history of religious persecution can produce in any country. It may well be said, that impiety has also its fanaticism, not less odious or cruel than superstition itself.

These melancholy consequences of the anti-religious system were prolonged for several years. Under the Directory we merely enjoyed the shadow of liberty, which the government extended or confined according to the conjecture or caprice of the moment, without the smallest regard to future causes and effects. In this state of things, it became necessary for those who wished to continue in the faith of their forefathers to conceal their sentiments, while the priests, who had not taken the oath, were constantly the objects of legal persecution.

The very indifference of Bonaparte, destitute alike of religion or morals, enabled him to adopt a much more artful line of policy with regard to ecclesiastical matters. While in Egypt, Napoleon was seen to cover his head

with a turban, and court popularity with the Imans of Cairo, that he might the more easily subjugate the followers of Islam: actuated by similar motives, and steadily pursuing the same projects, no sooner had he seized the government in France, than he restored the venerated belief of their ancestors to the people. In the audience of taking leave, which he gave to the prefects, his last words to them were as follows. "I recommend entire tolerance in al matters of religion: suffer the churches to be re-opened, and attend the service yourselves, if convenient to you; look well to the *prevention of troubles*, but do not interfere with the conscience of any man." His agents generally acted in the above spirit, though it must be confessed that some were influenced by personal opinions and characteristic prejudices, which it was not very easy to shake off. The First Consul having gone a step beyond the law, it was mute, leaving every thing to the arbitrary will of administration. At length

came the concordat; and thus peace was restored to the long neglected church of France. The new priesthood being reconciled to the holy see, many old pastors were sent back to their anxious congregations: there was no longer any distinction made between the two bodies, and a great majority of the officiating ministers henceforth received its subsistence from the treasures of the state.

Lucien was by no means an idle spectator of this important change. We have already had occasion to represent him in some parts of his legislative career as recommending the principle of universal toleration. Possessing a philosophy less crude than his brother, he did not consider religion merely as an instrument to promote popular obedience: Lucien thought it necessary to public and private happiness, the tranquility of families, maintenance of social virtue, and the triumph of morality over vice. It would have been happy for himself, had he from that time recognized those sublime truths,

rather than found them at a moment of political convenience, to suit the selfish views of interested ambition. But Lucien was naturally of a lively imagination and ardent passions; and his first essay in public life took place at the precise period which saw the apostles of materialism triumphant in France; falling, as it were, into the midst of these, seduced in the first instance by their fatal doctrines, and seeing them invested with power, it was difficult for him to avoid their pernicious example, or not become their proselyte, until that more fortunate moment when returning reason should call him back to truth. If, as he was frequently accused of afterwards, people saw him figuring away in the sacrilegious processions of 1793, it should be recollected that he was then only eighteen years of age, and that when the occasion presented itself he lost no time in proving that such abominations were foreign to his character: at a later period of life, it will be seen

that Lucien altogether abjured that hardened philosophy, which, following the track prescribed to it by the abuse of reason and common sense, invariably terminates in the obscure mazes of disappointed incredulity.

The negociator employed to regulate the affairs of the Gallican church, on the part of his holiness the Pope, was Monsignor Gonsalvi, formerly the friend of Cardinal Chiaramonte, who, on being elevated to the chair of St. Peter, immediately invested him with the purple. Lucien did not confine himself to forwarding the negociation merely as a diplomatist, but extended his efforts to every thing which he thought likely to insure its complete success. It was necessary to soften down many prelates, who had been soured by a long persecution, and reconcile them to the new political system, in which it was impossible to restore that which had been taken away. Finally, it became necessary to attach the ministers of religion to the new government of

France, so that they might be converted into useful auxiliaries in maintaining its authority. Such were the objects Lucien had to accomplish, and he succeeded in all of them. His delicate attentions and amiable civilities formed a striking contrast to the uncouthness manifested by Bonaparte on similar occasions. Arrived at the summit of power, it is probable that the latter thought himself absolved from any farther obligation to fulfil those minor offices of benevolence and kindness which a sense of duty ought to have suggested. This disposition of Napoleon was carried so far that it could not fail to attract general notice. We shall merely cite one instance, as a specimen of his affability in those days: giving a large dinner party, at which the principal guests consisted of several bishops of the old clergy, and some other just nominated, it was previously settled that Bonaparte should treat the whole with particular marks of distinction and politeness. While at table, however, nothing

of the kind marked his behaviour; but on rising, Bonaparte seemed quite full of the part he had been recommended to play, and going up to the archbishop of Tours, asked his Grace, in a most caressing tone, "Well, Monsieur de Boisgelin, I hope you have made a hearty dinner?" This was the happiest sally which escaped Napoleon during the day.

The famous compact which brought religion back to France having been ratified by the head of Catholicism, the event was celebrated at Paris in April. To form any idea of the sensation created at seeing all the great bodies of the state going in procession to Notre Dame, and the solemnization which followed in that cathedral, the spectator should have been well acquainted with all those events which preceded the revolution, and witnessed that total abandonment of our ancient pomp and splendour, which continued during the ten years that succeeded the monarchy's destruction. The ceremony at Notre Dame had no-

thing in common with those grotesque and disgusting masquerades suggested by impiety, and ridiculous even to the eyes of that multitude which they were intended to edify or amuse. It was a well-regulated procession, and most imposing spectacle, a solemn association, whose magnificence dazzled every beholder, while its effect in the temple of the Almighty inspired that religious awe and pious resignation, which the most obdurate generally feel on such occasions. The carriage containing the three consuls, drawn by six white horses, and surrounded by a number of attendants on foot, all dressed for the first time in the livery which Bonaparte afterwards preserved, was preceded by five hundred public functionaries in their own carriages, and wearing the grand costume. The whole train moved forward at a slow pace, in the midst of large bodies of cavalry splendidly dressed; there was also a great number of horses magnificently caparisoned, led on by

Mamalukes. These foreign soldiers, whose glittering uniforms and shining arms, when mingled and contrasted with the grenadiers of the guard, seemed to blend the luxury of eastern warriors with the martial air of European troops, gave a character of exclusive originality to this grand spectacle, whose novelty excited the utmost wonder, while its splendour was not less calculated to call forth popular admiration.

From this memorable period of our history Bonaparte left no room to doubt the nature of his future projects; in fact, he now proceeded with rapid strides towards that despotic power which he afterwards exerted so fatally for Europe. Already had registers been opened for votes in favour of the consulate for life, the success of which scheme was certain; for, as the experience of ages prove, and history furnishes but too many striking examples, the people themselves conspired by their want of unanimity and blind confidence in a remorseless tyrant to

second the designs of his palpable ambition. But we are induced to ask, if the army, that first and fatal source of power, did not betray some jealousy of its own work? Those generals for whom the laurel had been wreathed, when the name of Bonaparte was either unknown, or languished in well-merited obscurity, who, having subsequently become the emulators or instruments of his glory, had acquired equal rights, though not obtained similar rewards—could these, we will ask, be capable of kissing the rod which was about to hold them in perpetual bondage? If Bonaparte, in cutting his way through mountains, and triumphing over the obstacles of nature, as he did over all the efforts of Austria, had excited the admiration of all, and enthusiasm of those who vanquished under him, was Moreau less celebrated for his former conquests, multiplied victories beyond the Rhine, or his glorious and honourable defensive operations during the campaign of 1799? Equally beloved by the

troops who had seen him at their head, he possessed much more than Bonaparte, in the esteem and veneration of the whole army. Could this celebrated general, and many others of nearly equal renown, tamely consent to receive a master from the hands of a capricious directory, and for ever obey him who should have been only their equal? In doubting their submission, it was necessary to adopt such measures as were most likely to render opposition or hostility harmless; and these were not wanting to a cunning usurper, whose designs upon France were favoured by so many base and unprincipled accomplices. Yes! those monsters who calmly meditated the ruin of our country, and convulsion of all Europe, saw the necessity of a new institution, which should concentrate the army's undivided attention, gratitude, and hopes in Bonaparte. It was by making the soldiers look up to this man as the source of preferment, and arbiter of destiny, that the usurping faction

calculated on withdrawing their affections from more experienced and equally illustrious generals. Such is the origin of the legion of honour. But had that been made a purely military order in the first instance, the motives would be too apparent, an objection which the founders obviated by making its application more general. They were thus enabled to conceal the real object; and by associating the vanity of private individuals with the certain devotion of the army, the probable success of their plan to annihilate public liberty was rather increased than diminished. Reflecting on the effects of this institution, as it contributed to establish that inexorable despotism, now removed, we trust never to return, is it too much to say, that military associations of every kind, which confer exclusive privileges on the members of that profession, if not fatal, are at least highly dangerous to the existence of freedom in any state, however well governed in other respects? And, looking

at the abject condition of those who founded the legion of honour, let us rather say, the legion of tyranny, are we not justified in asserting that such institutions are not always the surest guarantees either of sovereign authority or political power?

It was in 1796 that the Directory first introduced the practice of giving arms of honour to those individuals who had distinguished themselves in the field. This custom was also resorted to on the presentation of colours taken from the enemy, the announcement of a great victory, conquest, or negociation.

The officer charged with these kind of missions by the general-in-chief was received in great form at the Luxembourg; and the principal director delivered a speech analogous to the occasion. Bonaparte, on becoming consul, abandoned this custom, and only recurred to it once, in favour of Moreau. Soon after the winter campaign, which had been distinguished by the battle of Hohenlinden, Napoleon pre-

sented the victor with a pair of pistols richly set in brilliants, and taking them out of his hands immediately after, gave them to the minister of the interior (Lucien), with directions that the general's victories should be engraved on them. "But not all," he added, "for in that case there will be no room for the diamonds!" This was infinitely the best, and perhaps the only good thing which Bonaparte ever said in that way.*

In abolishing the above practice, it was, however, shortly replaced by another; that of distributing arms of honour. By this regula-

* Napoleon had composed a general history of Corsica, considered with regard to its physical attributes and historical relations. This work, which was written by the Abbé Raynal's advice, was sent to that ingenious writer for his inspection, and Joseph undertook to deliver it.

Mr. Francis Egerton, a gentleman now at Paris, is in possession of the original letter which accompanied the manuscript, and in which, after some general remarks, the learned abbé is requested to give the bearer a *few lessons on honesty; and, above all, humanity, of which he was very much in want.* This is a very curious document.

tion, every military man, from a private to the rank of colonel, who had performed any remarkable act of bravery, was to receive either a musket or sabre; which gift had the additional advantage of doubling the pay or appointments of him who obtained it. These distinctions were profusely scattered during the short campaigns which hastened the treaty of Luneville, at the conclusion of which they had increased very considerably.

It will thus be seen, that the legion of honour had been already formed, and merely required those statutes and regulations which should give it the character of a distinct and privileged body. The insignia was added in furtherance of this object; and, together with the various other ordinances, produced all the effect of flattering the vanity and self-love of individuals, while the objects of government were completely established.

Towards the end of May, Lucien, who attended all the discussions relative to this im-

portant measure in the private councils of the usurper, and had himself arranged most of its provisions, also proposed its final adoption to the tribunate. The greatest part of that assembly, which was still republican, was horror-struck at a proposition so totally opposed to their principles. Several expressed their decided disapprobation of it, but none so forcibly, or with more convincing arguments than the tribune Savoye-Rollin. The latter, in repeating the substance of the oath presented for the members of the new order, observed that such an association could be of no particular use to the state, since every Frenchman, public functionary, and the whole army, were equally bound to devote themselves to the service of the republic, in preserving its territory, defending the government, laws, and property; also, in repelling every attempt that tended to re-establish feudal rights, or those *titles and qualifications which belonged to them.* The last words of the old *sacramental formula* is given in italics, as con-

taining matter for curious reflection, when coupled with that endless creation of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and chevaliers, which soon followed, without the promulgation of any law or senatus consultum whatever, to absolve those who had taken that solemn oath, from their engagement. During the speech of M. Savoye-Rollin, Lucien was observed attentively to note down the most striking passages, and prepare to combat them. This was accordingly attempted in a warm reply, which, though extremely deficient in argument, served to confirm the idea we have already given of the orator's domineering and insolent spirit, when speaking of his conduct as a minister.

Lucien's refutation commenced by his observing: "That to attack the intention of a law, in distorting its meaning, was to *attack the intentions of those who proposed it;* that is to say, the *government.* If the indignation excited by such an address did not exclude all pleasantry from this subject, I should be in-

duced to compare the last speaker's efforts, to that champion of knight-errantry, who having discovered an army on the sails of a windmill, directed all the vigour of his arm against them." It was somewhat difficult to deliberate in an assembly whose members could express themselves in this way with impunity.

The measure thus debated was carried by a majority of fifty-six voices against thirty-eight. Some days after, Lucien appeared as chosen orator at the tribune of the legislative body, for the same object: his speech on this occasion was not destitute of merit, and though cried up as a master-piece at the time, it is certainly unequal to his reputation. We shall confine ourselves to the principal passage—"Glory tells the man whose father was not distinguished in society—Go! the world is all before you; plunge into its perilous career, be intrepid in the field of war, and bold in the midst of faction; extend the *circle of human science*; improve the useful, and cultivate the

fine arts; the privileged enjoyments of polished society; defend, illustrate your country, and thou wilt become great amongst your fellow men, nor shall your death when it does arrive be eternal!

"Does glory address the descendant of a hero, she exclaims, imitate your ancestors, if like them you would obtain my favours: they conquered for France on the Alps and Pyrennées; follow their steps, follow me to those snow-topp'd heights.—Your ancestors, while they honoured the magistracy, defended the oppressed against oppression; follow their steps; follow me into the difficult paths of justice. Be as great as your fathers, or at least do not be lost in their fame, which is not a virtue for you, but an additional inducement to acquire it."

Here ended Lucien's career of legislation and oratory. For the spark of liberty, which remained to animate popular discussion, having taken refuge in the tribunate, soon became fa-

tiguing to government. The latter was now satisfied with mutes; and the deliberating portion of the legislative body was suppressed by a senatus consultum.

In July of the same year (1802), Lucien was appointed grand officer of the Legion of Honour, and one of the seven members composing the grand council of its administration: he accordingly took his seat in the above quality at the Conservative Senate.

The establishment of those revenues destined for the Legion of Honour required very particular attention, as they were to be drawn from national or conquered domains, and amount to three millions of francs annually: these were chiefly selected in the Belgian provinces, and the four new departments of the Rhine, where the sale of national property had only just began. For this purpose Lucien proceeded to them in July, 1803, as commissary of the grand council of administration;

and having examined the domains intended for the legion, he at the same time paid a visit to the senatorial house and estate allotted to himself: this place was called Poppelsdorf, formerly a country-house which belonged to the elector of Treves, and situated near Bonn, a very handsome town on the Rhine. The castle, though built of brick, is large and beautiful, but was at this time much in want of repair: the park is also very extensive, and decorated with magnificent woods; to this residence was added a rental capable of yielding from twenty-five to thirty thousand francs annually.

The above journey was merely a recreation for Lucien, who returned to Paris towards the end of September. We have hitherto omitted to state, that it was while minister of the interior, that Lucien lost his wife Christine Boyer, for whom he always entertained a considerable degree of respect, leaving her the

free and sovereign arbitress of all domestic concerns; and though not faithful, he contrived at least to keep up appearances*.

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* Madam Lucien possessed a mild disposition and great goodness of heart: warmly attached to her husband, she wept over his infidelities, but her grief and indignation were not vented in unavailing reproaches. Her knowledge of human nature pointed out that the best weapons a wife can use to combat the errors of a husband, or bring him back to virtue, are those of mild persuasion and gentle reproof. An opposite line of conduct widens the breach in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, without reclaiming the truant. Incapable of constancy while living, the death of Madam Christine seemed to render Lucien inconsolable; and, strange paradox! notwithstanding his dissolute conduct, and numerous intrigues, he not only affected to love her tenderly, but always did justice to her virtues. Soon after her decease Lucien ordered the erection of a monument, worthy of his sorrow, at the park of Du Plessis Chamont, near Senlis, to the memory of his beloved consort. This tomb, composed of bronze and marble, contains the following inscription.

A DAUGHTER,
WIFE,
AND MOTHER,
WITHOUT REPROACH!

Her bust, executed in marble, is placed on a small column, surrounded with genii, and various emblems.

On his return from Spain, Madam Bacciochi, Lucien's eldest sister, came to keep house for him:* both had an amazing turn for

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tical bas-reliefs, which recal to mind the virtues of this estimable woman, who died in the flower of her age, and deserved a far better fate.

While at Le Plessis, Lucien passed an hour or two of each day near his wife's grave, where he sometimes conducted his children; all of whom, accompanied by the governess, repaired to the spot every evening before sunset, and kneeling at the tomb of their mother, repeated their evening orisons, after which flowers were strewed on the grave. Even the bouquet which the children presented to Lucien on his birth-day was gathered from those which grew around Christine's grave. But the versatility of Lucien's character did not admit of long affliction.

* There was something very remarkable in the attachment of Madam Bacciochi and her brother: their rooms were close to each other in the hotel, and one bath served for both at the same hour. During a whole month of Eliza's visit, they seemed to be inseparable, always going out together, and presenting an appearance of the most perfect union: but the sister had as little to boast of on the score of constancy as the brother, and Madam Bacciochi was not one of those sentimentalists who would be likely to consider fraternal affection as the greatest possible source of human felicity.

Fontanes happening to see her one day in the garden

theatrical declamation. Singular! that the highest political interests, a co-operation the

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of the Tuilleries, kept walking close to Madam B. and frequently repeating, loud enough to be heard by the object of his solicitude, "By Jove, that's a charming woman! I should have no objection whatever to burn a few grains of incense on her altar!" The lady, who had always felt a strong predilection in favour of broad shoulders, took care to find out the person's name who followed her; and on being told it was Fontanes the poet, exclaimed, "I am delighted! he is just the man I wanted; and must write some verses for my approaching birth-day." No sooner had she returned home, than a note was despatched to the poet, and a convenient hour of meeting fixed. Faithful to the summons, Fontanes attended, and the first interview saw the knot of friendship closely tied between this susceptible pair. Bacciochi, the husband of Eliza, was not overburthened with talents of any kind; and being at a loss how to dispose of such a wise-acre, Napoleon converted him into a colonel of dragoons, in which situation his time was divided between learning to ride, and scraping on the violin, which he played very like those blind men who frequent the metropolis. Absorbed in these dignified pursuits, the vagaries of Madam B. were either winked at or not seen. When the latter had secured the conquest of Fontanes, by no means a difficult task, she quitted Lucien's house, and went to live in the Faux-bourg St. Honoré. On this occasion, Eliza not only

most active in all state affairs, and every thing else calculated to insure the elevation of his family, should leave Lucien time to promote the success of a play with all the energy and perseverance of a professed actor. To such an extent was this mania pursued, that he would even make a point of distributing the characters when a private play was to be performed by his friends. Amongst these, Arnault, a bad actor,

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took away all the furniture of her apartment, but every thing else which appeared to suit her new residence. Her servants were, in fact, carrying this joke so far, that those of Lucien were at length obliged to turn them out, and shut the doors against their return; for at the rate these pilfering adherents went on, they bid fair to leave Lucien little more than the shell for himself!

It is well known, that Madam Bacciochi was the means of Fontanes being commissioned to prepare Napoleon's opening speeches. He was afterwards made president of the Legislative Body, grand master of the university, then a senator, and finally member of several orders. Besides the revenues arising from his different places, and various extraordinary gratifications, he received a hundred thousand francs for his speech relative to the divorce of Josephine.

and most wretched tragic writer, was very conspicuous. Lucien went still farther: assuming the turban of Orosmane, and mitre of Joad, he appeared before the inhabitants of Senlis, and sustained his parts with no small share of ability. Madam Eliza, on her side, served to increase the ridicule and absolute insipidity of those efforts which her other competitors for theatrical fame made on the same boards. Madam Jouberteau, with whom Lucien got acquainted soon after opening the private theatre at Le Plessis, also became an associate of his motley company, usually taking the parts of queens, princesses, and heroines.

We shall, in this place, collect a few facts relative to the singular history of the last-named lady, no less celebrated as the cause of terminating Lucien's political career, than her subsequent alliance with him.

Amongst the companions of the ex-minister's pleasures, the Count de la B——— was particularly distinguished, generally participating

in all his amorous pursuits. In addition to his various other fashionable avocations, the count had a very fine woman under his protection. This lady was the daughter of M. Bleschamp, a commissary of marine, and born at Saint Malo, in Brittany. Her father, who bore a very excellent character, had seven or eight children, of which she was the eldest. Having a sister settled at Paris, M. Bleschamp thought it would be a very good plan to place his daughter, who promised to be a great beauty, under the care of his relative. In pursuance of this design, Mademoiselle B. on attaining her twelfth year, was sent off to the metropolis, where the aunt received her with open arms, and soon initiated the provincial novice into the concerns of her shop, which was that of a milliner and haberdasher. She also made a considerable progress in embroidery and needle-work, occasionally assisting her aunt in the more humble offices of domestic arrangements.

Shortly after her arrival in Paris all was pleasure and gaiety at that voluptuous city and its environs. Being the happy period when the gardens of Boutin, Marbeuf, Vauxhall, and Elysée, presented a thousand different sources of amusement, these fascinating resorts were much frequented by the softer sex, and to the idle or dissipated they were absolutely irresistible: amongst the latter there was one, a M. Jouberteau, who had the credit of being what the world term a chevalier of industry. This gentleman's penetration enabled him at once to foresee the rising charms of our young heroine; and having often speculated on the allurements of youthful beauty, he determined to become a broker on the present occasion, by endeavouring to possess the object of his cupidity, with the laudable view of turning the article into ready money, on some future day. Scarcely had the design been formed, when Jouberteau advanced towards his fair enchantress, who was walking

with her female Argus, and making a low bow, begged to have the honour of seeing them home: his offer being accepted, he conducted the ladies to their own door, and on retiring, earnestly solicited leave to pay his respects the following day: this was also granted. Accordingly, the hero went; and although several successive visits were paid, and many articles purchased in the shop, he soon discovered that all his projects must fall to the ground, if marriage was not proposed. But this was no obstacle in Paris, which is justly celebrated for the glorious facilities it affords to enterprizes of the above nature.

The first object was to find a rich patron and protector: this being done, proposals were made, listened to, and the marriage followed. From that very day the bride had her equipage, plenty of diamonds, and a splendid hotel full of servants. It is true, indeed, that the first torch of Hymen did not burn for M. Jouberteau, who was not even destined to pluck

this luxurious rose; yet he was an excellent man, and the model of husbands; for while his voluptuous better-half occupied a splendid suite of apartments on the first floor, the philosophic husband confined his ambition to a a modest chamber between them and the ground one. At once tender and submissive, he never omitted sending up a messenger every morning to enquire after his dear wife's health, how she had passed the night, &c.

After the first protector had retired, another took his place; and the latter's turn to go out having arrived, he was succeeded by others. Amongst the last of the favoured many, the name of General Franceschi deserves particular notice, as this gallant had the additional consolation of receiving two pledges of love from the object of his tenderness: save and except an occasional step aside, the lady's last leap previous to her second marriage was into the arms of Count de la B——.

Lucien and the count, who were inseparable in

their pleasures, having agreed to pass some days at Méreville, determined to take their mistresses with them. The first moments of this excursion were devoted to ranging over the grounds and visiting the park; next followed the pleasures of the table. After a tolerably free circulation of the bottle, an exchange of beauties was proposed: this, as may be readily imagined, created a good deal of laughter at first, but it was at last realized, and reciprocal happiness the result. As to M. Lucien, he was so struck with the charms of his new acquisition, that he instantly pressed the count to cede her in perpetuity. De la B—— consented, and in a few days after Madam Jouberteau found herself snugly established in a fine house near the Pont Royal. A small corridor, unseen by vulgar eyes, and constructed near the picture gallery of the hotel de Brienne, where Lucien lived, enabled him to pass into the apartments of his favourite whenever he liked, with-

out the fear or inconvenience of being observed. The lady was not many weeks in her new residence before there was every prospect of Lucien's being blessed with an addition to his family. Having long sighed for a boy, Madam Jouberteau had no sooner communicated the joyful event of her pregnancy, than Lucien, who received the news with ecstasy, in giving a loose to the first paroxysms of happiness, promised that if she presented him with an heir he would instantly marry her. Looking forward with trembling anxiety to the critical period which was to decide a great question, the nine months had expired; and, as his better stars would have it, Madam Jouberteau actually did usher a young gentleman into the world; which said personage, however, the scandalous chronicle laid at the door of little Chatillon.* Be this as it may, nothing

* Chatillon was the son of a valet-de-chambre, or butler, and the *Prince's friend*: he drew tolerably, and had a good idea of painting miniatures. He was also insolent to

could exceed Lucien's delight on the occasion. Constantly annoyed by Napoleon, who wished

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his inferiors, and a sycophant to those above him, particularly his master, whom he had followed into Spain, and served in a variety of useful ways; but in none so essentially as that of contributing to his amours, by his talent for selection amongst the frail sex, and finally, by conducting the negociations which were to make any new object a participator in the couch of Lucien.

M. Chatillon, not less insensible to the *en bon point* of a fine woman than his patron, determined that the latter should not have Madam Jouberteau all to himself; and the latter was by no means ignorant of his talents at finding out that part of the sex who do not allow their wooers to hang themselves. To be more certain of success, young Chatillon began his approaches by threatening to take Lucien off to his senatory on the Rhine, and detain him at Aix-la-Chapelle, if his concupiscent desires were not gratified: he added, that in this case nothing on earth should prevent him from calling his master's attention to a younger, more amiable, and, above all, a less obdurate dulcinea. Aware of her protector's capricious turn for new faces, and knowing how little she could depend on his constancy, there seemed no alternative between surrender and loss of protection: she chose the former. As a proof how far ill-nature will carry things, it is said that Madam J. at first upbraided her new lover with the epithets of ravisher, wretch, and monster! but getting into a better humour, she exclaimed, "Ah! wretch that thou art, after all, I cannot help liking you!"

him to marry the Queen of Etruria, it was at the close of a long discussion on this subject that the two brothers had the famous dispute which had already been communicated to the public. "How is it possible," said Bonaparte, "in thus offering a princess of Spain, an infanta, who has a kingdom which I intend to enlarge, that you should still refuse? And for whom?—a creature, who after having been the mistress of every one who consented to receive her, is after all a mere trull!" "That may be," replied Lucien, "but you must agree, that in following your own example, my concern is at least young and handsome?" "Mine," rejoined Napoleon, "has made my fortune, and your happiness: it is by my actions that I have raised the family, which owes me every thing it possesses. I wish to place all my brothers on thrones; and you, who ought to second my views, whom I love; your only delight consists in running after women; and now, to finish all, you are going to dishonour yourself

by this marriage." "No, no!" said Lucien, "you know me too well to suspect any thing of that kind." Thus ended the altercation.

On getting home Lucien related the whole interview to Madam Jouberteau, and then entertained her with the projects of revenge which his brother's conduct had inspired. She was, on her part, far from throwing cold water on his schemes, and after some more desultory conversation, their marriage was fixed for the next day.

Here it is proper to inform the reader, that during all these family disputes, M. Jouberteau, that mild and pacific husband, to whose gentle virtues we have already borne our humble testimony, was still living: but about two months before Lucien had advanced him some money to buy a trading venture: with this he proceeded to the West Indies, where the yellow fever soon snatched him away from the manifold troubles and mortifications of this transitory scene.

According to agreement, M. Duquesnoy, mayor of the tenth division of Paris, was sent for the following morning to celebrate Lucien's marriage, and directed at the same time to bring the register with him: he was, above all, cautioned to keep the approaching ceremony a profound secret." Notwithstanding every precaution, the First Consul heard of what was going on; and taking his measures to frustrate the whole transaction, just before the appointed hour M. Duquesnoy received a positive order to retire into his own house, from whence he was not to stir during the rest of that day. It was at the same time ordered that the municipal registers should on no account be removed, or any marriage ceremony performed, except at the office appointed for such purposes. Finally, no couple was to be married who had not given previous notice of their intentions, as required by law, &c.

The mayor lost no time in communicating the tenor of the orders he had just received to

Lucien, and expressed the regret he felt at not being able to comply with the senators' wishes. The head of Medusa could not have produced a more electric effect than a perusal of the billet in which these sad tidings were conveyed. After wildly staring at each other for some moments in mournful silence, it was at length broke by the distressed orator, who launched forth volumes of invective against the guilty cause of his disappointment. When the storm had subsided a little, carriages were ordered for himself and attendants, and the whole party repaired forthwith to le Plessis Chamant. Arriving there about eleven o'clock on the same night, the mayor and curate were immediately sent for to the chateau. The first happened to be absent, but as good luck would have it, the curate was then called up to supply his place, and, in addition to his clerical duties, might be considered as the mayor's locum tenens. An altar was also prepared for the occasion; and having sent for the priest's

surplice, and other paraphernalia, which he forgot to bring, the civil ceremony being gone through, he proceeded to perform the religious one. The witnesses on this solemn occasion were Messrs. Campi,* Chatillon,

* Amongst those who had most influence over Lucien, M. Campi should be particularly distinguished. Animated, original, and sometimes facetious; Campi was a native of Corsica, and born in the house which Madam Letitia had formerly occupied at Ajaccio: he was intimate with all the Bonapartes from their earliest infancy. Somewhat older than Lucien, he had long followed his fortunes, and served as kind of Mentor to the stastesman in all cases of difficulty. After having filled the office of secretary-general to the minister of the interior, he became Lucien's man of business, or rather *factotum*, paying bills, giving receipts, keeping accounts, and regulating all the concerns of the household; he communicated the result of his labours directly to the Senator, of whose entire confidence he was perfect master.—M. Campi, who never spoke much, was particularly silent in all that related to Lucien or his family. He was passionately fond of music, but neither esteemed or wished to hear any but that which came from Italy. When Napoleon placed the imperial crown on his head, one of Lucien's attendants happening to express his regret at the latter's not being included in the list of French princes, M. Campi said, "Well, what matters it if he was left

Sapey†, Thibaud‡, and two or three others, whose names we cannot exactly call to mind,

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out!"—"Why, Sir," replied the other, "I should imagine such a title is well worthy of a man's ambition."—"So it may," answered Campi, "but are there not *kingdoms* to give away?"—"Yes, I am aware of that," said the attendant, "but they are all occupied at present; and, judging from the persevering fury with which the European sovereigns contend for them, it is not likely that there will be any one inclined to give up in favour of Lucien."—"My dear friend," exclaimed Campi, "I perceive you are still young in the trade of politics: if they don't like to give them up, others can be made." We said that M. Campi was an original: to prove that assertion, it need only be added, that he never eats meat, rarely fish, and only drinks water: his usual diet consists of bread moistened in soup, and vegetables. He had for a long time given up bread and macaroni, which he looked upon as poison, supplying their place with potatoes boiled in salt and water. Lucien made Campi a present of the farm at le Plessis.

† Sapey is a native of Dauphiné, who became very intimate with Lucien. After having made a large fortune as store-keeper, he was successively a member of the tribunate and legislative body, and is now said to have retired to his immense estates near Grenoble.

‡ One of Lucien's secretaries, and son of a person who sold lemonade in the streets of Montpellier: having received a tolerably good education, he got himself made

but rather think M. le Thiers was also one of the party.

As may be readily supposed, nothing could exceed the fury of the First Consul, when on the following morning he was informed of what occurred the night before. Transported with mingled rage and indignation, Napoleon thought only of vengeance. A messenger was instantly despatched for the curate, who did not seem by any means in a hurry to obey the summons. Seeing this irresolution,

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a doctor; when the celebrated Broussonet, perceiving his fondness for botany, entrusted him with several missions, so that before the age of twenty-five Thibaud had visited nearly all Europe. During one of his journeys to England, he married a rich Scotch lady; and on returning to France, while Lucien was minister, the latter proposed attaching him to his family as one of the secretaries; in which capacity he continued till the departure of his patron, when M. Thibaud followed Joseph Bonaparte to Naples, and was afterwards nominated to be his treasurer in Spain.—During the events which took place in 1814, Thibaud was killed by a Spaniard, who took him for an officer who had made rather too free with his daughter. He was at this time about forty-five years of age.

the officer employed to conduct him before the Consul observed, "Mr. Curate, if you hesitate to set off this moment, I have the honour to inform you that I shall be under the necessity of conducting you from one brigade to another along the road, until arrived at your destination. You are, I am sure, too reasonable to render such a step necessary; and I also trust you will allow me the pleasure of accompanying you as far as Paris, merely to prevent the dulness of travelling alone!" There was no use in resisting this appeal; and the poor curate was conveyed to the Tuilleries, and soon after brought before the irritated presence. The old man's feelings may be easily conceived, on Napoleon's asking in a loud tone, "Wretch! why did you marry my brother?"—"General Consul, M. Lucien is my benefactor, and that of my poor village," replied the curate, trembling.* "I was called

* Lucien allowed the curate six hundred francs a year, and had done a great deal of good by his charities

out of my first sleep, and directed to repair without a moment's delay to the castle, where they told me a marriage ceremony was to be performed. I was also ordered to bring the mayor, together with the parish registers: the latter was absent, but I am his assistant, and merely went to his house for the registering book. It was now near midnight, at which hour your excellency knows that the holy canons authorized me to celebrate the mass, and even marry people if required."—"Didn't you know," said Napoleon, "you were acting

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both at Plessis-Chamant and the neighbouring villages.—The curate kept a cow, and under pretence of drinking the warm milk, Lucien's daughters, attended by their governess, Mademoiselle Anné, used to visit his cottage twice a week, while living at the chateau. They were always preceded by a servant, who went to advise the old man of their intended visit, but whose real object was that of carrying a large basket of provisions said to be for the ladies' luncheon, though of course never touched by them. On taking their leave, something was always left with the curate independent of his pension: this was for the purpose of singing masses for the repose of their mother's soul.

against my wishes, and that I used all my efforts to prevent such an alliance? Besides, how could you celebrate religious rites in a profane and unconsecrated spot?—I shall order an account of your conduct to be given to the Bishop of Beauvais, who will suspend you from your functions."—"General Consul," replied the curate, "I took care beforehand to say the prayers presented on such occasions, so that on this head the ecclesiastical censure cannot affect me."—"Retire, miserable wretch!" was Bonaparte's reply; "go to your living, and there await the effects of my just wrath."

The ill-fated pastor was not long in availing himself of this last privilege, and soon found his way back to le Plessis, which he had no ambition of quitting in the first instance.

The newly-married couple having returned to the capital in a few days after the ceremony, as the honeymoon had been anticipitated, Madam Lucien immediately undertook the business of housekeeping; actuated much less

by motives of economy than a desire to make the best of a good thing, and prepare a dowry for her daughter Mademoiselle Franceschi.—The first days of the new matron's administration were occupied in discharging all those servants and other members of the establishment who did not appear to be sufficiently in her interests. The tradesmen, who were not disposed to make large abatements in favour of Madam, were also sent to the right about, taking possession of the strong box. She thenceforth began to make all the payments, not forgetting to procure the insertion of a much larger sum on the receipts than she paid away.

Lucien's two daughters, Lolotte and Lili, had long been in the habit of receiving various presents of more or less value from Napoleon, Madam Letitia, and their other uncles and aunts. On a particular day of each year, the First Consul, who was very fond of his nieces, used to give each of them a superb pearl neck-

lace in which the latter were remarkable for their size and beauty: these jewels were kept in a magnificent cabinet. Madam Lucien, under pretext of ordering a trinket-box on the same principle, asked the young ladies' governess to let her have it for that purpose; adding, that while in the workman's hands, she would take care of the contents herself. No sooner were they in Madam Lucien's possession than she sold the greatest part, which were replaced by pearls about half the size, and diamonds of an inferior water. Among other curiosities, there was a gold box, containing a small organ that played from twelve to fifteen tunes: when opened, a tree sprang up from the inside, on which a little canary-bird appeared: this, flapping its wings, turning about in various directions, and moving its beak, sang while the instrument played. This ingenious contrivance, which came from Madam Letitia, was too precious to be left in the hands of children, and therefore justified the provident Madam

Lucien's taking it under her own immediate charge.—During the senator's embassy to Spain, the sovereign of that country presented him with a portrait set in large brilliants: one row of these was afterwards taken out to form an ornament for one of his grand costume hats, not as a proof of respect for the donor it will be allowed. Madam Jouberteau's eloquence persuaded her husband that the remainder would make a very nice collar for her neck. Charles the Fourth was therefore put into the jeweller's hands, who received directions to take out the diamonds which surrounded the head of that august monarch, and replace them with the best pastes he could find. The former were afterwards destined to complete the favourite necklace of Madam Jouberteau, in which the two *solitaires* stolen from poor Lolotte and Lili shone with redoubled splendour. Madam Lucien entered into the minutest details of the household concerns, even to counting the linen before it was consigned

to the washerwoman; nor did she blush to receive supplies of pins and other compliments from her husband's tradesmen. Worn out by the scoldings, caprice, and tyranny of this woman, Tassard, the butler, left Lucien's service, and entered that of Madam Bacciochi.

It is not therefore surprising, that Napoleon, to whom her conduct had been minutely detailed, should insist on her being turned off, as the first preliminary to a reconciliation with his brother.

Rather a fine than a pretty woman, the person of Madam Jouberteau was chiefly distinguished for a quick eye, white skin, and good shape; in fact, her's was one of those figures which subjugate without interesting you,—a person whose air and manners supplied the place of more regular traits of beauty: she possessed that voluptuousness which some admire in eastern climes, without the graceful figure of France, or grave and dignified physiognomy

of Greece and Rome. Without affecting much elegance in dress, she knew how to make the best of her charms on all occasions, when they were likely to be of consequence to the possessor. Her temper, naturally hot and violent, was only to be restrained by continued attention on her own part; but she could not change it into mildness; and frequent fits of passion, occasional rudeness, and a haughty demeanor, often betrayed the inward mind. Since her marriage to Lucien, she has acted the part of an affectionate wife and good mother. Of his children by the former wife she has been jealous and envious. To those who feel interested for Madam Lucien, it is matter of regret that the expansive sensibility and benevolent disposition, which is the best ornament of female excellence, do not in this lady go beyond the immediate sphere of her domestic affections. She writes with facility, and can even make verses; nor has she any objection to a good pun or well-arranged *double en-*

tendre: her playing and singing do not exceed mediocrity.

To such lengths had matters arrived shortly after Lucien's marriage, that he began to form a league against Napoleon in his own family. He also supported Jerome in his first though short resistance to the First Consul's wishes. He had the greatest influence over Joseph, who, persuaded by his counsels, refused the vice-royalty of Italy, which was afterwards given to Eugene Beauharnois. It was in fact these intrigues, added to the marriage, which led to the second grand breach between the rival brothers.

A general order was now issued to the whole of Lucien's household, that Napoleon's name should never be mentioned, or any allusion made to what was going on at court. This injunction was so scrupulously enforced, that a secretary, who, to gratify the wishes of his daughter, had procured some engravings representing a few of the First Consul's former

exploits, was near being discharged from his situation for the offence. When the great quarrel about their wives took place, all the portraits of his brothers and sisters were taken down, and put into a lumber room; the only one which escaped this curious proscription was that of his mother. A little later, and Lucien's sarcastic comparison between Madam Beauharnois and his own wife would have cost him his liberty; but Napoleon did not, at that time, think his authority sufficiently established to admit his taking the last step of despotism against that brother whom the public justly regarded as having paved the way to his own power.* Nor was he ignorant that

* Amongst other instances of the extent to which this power was carried, the following fact is a specimen. Having previously heard that the senators had the sum of 1,550,000 francs unappropriated, when that body once came to pay their devoirs sometime in 1807, Napoleon called the quæstors, and asked how much money their treasury contained? "Sire," answered one of the latter, "we have certainly some cash in hand, but it

Lucien had still a large party in his favour; he was therefore satisfied with merely ordering him to quit France.

If the place of exile had been left to himself, it is most likely he would have preferred Poppelsdorf to any other, since there was no chance of escaping his brother's power, by crossing the Alps: on the other hand, if the

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would be impossible to name the exact amount without referring to official documents."—"But tell me as near as you can," said Bonaparte."—"We repeat to your majesty," replied the quæstors, "that it is not possible to do so from mere recollection."—"Well, then," rejoined the newly-made emperor, "I have got the start of you: your disposable funds amount to so much," naming the above sum, "and I cannot doubt your intention of applying it to the most useful purposes."—"Sire, that sum is destined to defray the expenses of a monument to the glory of your majesty."—"Oh, that's unnecessary," said Napoleon: "the inhabitants of the fauxbourg St. Germain want to have the Odeon re-established, and the Empress would be highly gratified were you to give her name to the above theatre." On this, the deputation immediately proceeded to Josephine, and having obtained her imperial majesty's consent, not a moment was lost in restoring the Odeon, and calling it after her name.

demand had been made, there is little doubt of its being attended with a refusal.

It was during the preparations for this exile that the Duke d'Enghien's death took place. Lucien was a total stranger to that horrible event, until after its perpetration. He had not been in the habit of seeing the Consul for some time before the execution; but the manner in which Lucien's friends expressed themselves with regard to it clearly proved his decided condemnation of the act.

Nor did Lucien take any part in the affair of Moreau, which occurred shortly after, although it ought to be observed that he entertained some prepossessions which were very unfavourable to that general, whom the senator considered as an enemy to his family, and dangerous to the success of its ambitious designs. Six months before the famous trial in which the conqueror of Hohenlinden was implicated, a friend of Lucien's heard him say, "Moreau is an incendiary; but he had bet-

ter take care, for at the very first step he falls."

Two days after the heir of Condé was sacrificed, Bonaparte, finding himself in the midst of a large company of ministers, counsellors of state, and other dignitaries, thought it was necessary to make some observations by way of apology for his crime. The public considered his conduct on that deplorable occasion to have proceeded from a wish to show the Bourbons, and even the jacobins themselves, that he was incapable of ever becoming a monck. Leaving this motive, whether truly or falsely attributed to Napoleon, out of the question, he certainly dwelt on the subject for a long time; and in the course of his remarks seemed very anxious to prove that the victim had been a recruiter for the enemy. "I should have been greatly to blame," said the usurper, "if, influenced by personal considerations, I had, as First Consul of the republic, neglected to seize a foreign officer, who, placed on the frontiers, was bu-

sily occupied in searching for traitors amongst the French generals. That attempt deserved death, and he has suffered it." He then added: "Another report has been circulated. It is said that a prince of this family (Monsieur, the king's brother) is at Paris, and concealed in the Austrian ambassador's house. That is false. Had M. Cobentzel so far forgotten his duty as to secrete an enemy of France, I should have before this caused the prince and ambassador to be shot!" Such was the assumed energy of thought and action which enabled the modern Attila to create a new code of public law for Europe.

Le Brun, the arch-treasurer, while one day conversing with an intimate acquaintance in 1814, told the latter he had very innocently contributed to the duke's death. Some days before the arrest of that prince, the Bourbons became the subject of a conversation which Bonaparte held with some members of the court, when the arch-treasurer spoke very highly of the above unfortunate personage,

citing a number of traits which proved his greatness of mind, particularly those feelings of attachment, which his many amiable virtues were calculated to excite amongst the soldiery. Listening attentively to this part of the conference, Le Brun had scarcely done speaking, when Napoleon's countenance was observed suddenly to change, and by the contraction of his lips, it was evident that the young prince's eulogy created strong feelings of inward meditation. Caulincourt was soon despatched, the duke brought to Vincennes, and immolated to the jealousy and distrust of that despot, who, soon after, placed himself on the throne of Saint Louis.

Lucien quitted Paris in April, 1804, and proceeded first to Milan. This departure of her favourite son was a source of deep regret to Madam Letitia,* and the rest of the family, whom he had left very cavalierly, owing to the

* Madam Bonaparte was remarkably gay, considering her time of life, and always decked out more like a young woman of eighteen than one of sixty. In addition

marriage. They all felt their affection revive on his going away as an exile; and a negociation was

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to robes of muslin, cambric, and lawn, a fanciful wreath of flowers generally adorned her head. She had been a very fine woman, and still retained many traces of former beauty. Napoleon frequently found fault with his mother's dress, which he considered as ridiculous for a person of her years, though not sufficiently elegant for the court. Madam Bacciochi was even charged by the emperor to conduct her mother to the famous mercer, Lenormand's, for the purpose of laying in a stock of silks and stuffs more conformable to her age and rank. Unable to resist the many observations her costume had excited, Madam Letitia consented to accompany her daughter; but, on arriving at the shop, and looking over a variety of articles, every thing was too dear, and she wished to come away empty-handed. This would not do, however, for Madam Eliza, who insisted on Napoleon's will being conformed to; and having selected to the value of a thousand crowns in silks, brocades, &c. the empress-mother was obliged to take them away. But the idea of being put to such heavy expense is said to have made the good old lady quite spasmodic for nearly a fortnight after.

On Lucien's leaving the capital, Madam Letitia occupied his hotel, where a system of the most rigid economy succeeded the princely style of living adopted by her son. A general gratuity of twelve hundred francs, annually, was allowed to the servants and porters of

was soon opened to induce his return. Cardinal Fesch wrote long letters to Lucien, in which

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Lucien, out of which they found themselves in every thing. Her three cooks were only allowed one apron and one towel between them; and the waterman who attended her in the Faubourg St. Honoré still continued to follow the fortunes of his mistress, who generously allowed him five centimes (a halfpenny) per load; but for this liberal payment it was stipulated that he should draw up all the well-water which might be required for the house. Although Madam Letitia did not feed her servants, they were permitted to take the surplus of her table: lest this should be more than they could manage, the empress-mother was only served with three loaves of a-half pound each, daily, a part of which was divided with an old female domestic who had accompanied her on leaving Corsica, and been thirty years in the family. When Pauline and Eliza wished to be rather facetious, they used to go and dine with the old woman, if only to enjoy a good laugh at the establishment, particularly on seeing the servants sent out for more bread. Whenever Napoleon obliged her to give a large party, the old Corsican servant stood in a recess while dinner was serving, and as the dishes came out, selected those which had not been too much broke in upon: these were carefully deposited in a safe, the key of which never left this trust-worthy domestic's possession. The dishes thus formed into a reserve furnished a very good dinner to Madam Letitia the next day. When any one asked her

his conferences with Napoleon on this subject were minutely detailed. The marriage was to

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the reason of so much parsimony, she replied, "during the time I was charged with the care of a family, and had nine children to support, we contrived to defray every expense of the house for little more than one hundred Louis d'or per year. At present my son Lucien is not settled, and he is at a great expense; he can never give his children a fortune, and I must do so in his stead. Besides, it is always right to economize, as there is no knowing what may happen." Shortly after the Russian campaign, which ended so disastrously for Napoleon, he was told that his mother had concealed a sum of five millions of francs behind a picture which hung in one of her rooms. One day, while at the Tuilleries, her son observed, "Mother, I know you have got money, and I never was more in want of cash than at present; you will therefore oblige me infinitely by lending me some." "Your majesty has been most woefully deceived," answered Madam Letitia, "for I have not one farthing more than is absolutely necessary for my immediate and daily expenses." "This is a service I expect from you in the present critical state of my affairs," rejoined the emperor. "I assure you, sire, you have been misinformed, as all the money I had was lately sent to a person of our acquaintance whom you know." (Lucien). "Well," said Bonaparte, "I hope that is the case." Here the conversation ended for that time.

Napoleon happening to know what he was about, and

be rendered null and void, as the first step towards a restoration of confidence: such was the will of majesty, for Napoleon had now become emperor. By the way of shewing his clemency, and consoling Lucien for the sacrifice of his domestic affections, Bonaparte promised to provide for his son by the second marriage in Italy. This provision was neither more nor less than the duchy of Parma. The

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who he had to deal with, took an early opportunity of going to dine with his mother incognito. When they rose from table, his first attention was directed towards the pictures, which he praised in the highest terms, and on coming opposite the one he wanted, fresh admiration was bestowed on that: this ended by expressing a great wish to have it placed in his own collection. "Most assuredly, my son, it is perfectly at your service," said Madam Letitia; "I will have it taken down and sent to the Tuilleries immediately." "No, no, don't trouble yourself to send it: I'll take it with me in the carriage." Saying this, the servants were called, and directed to unhang the picture, when lo and behold, the casket made its appearance! and, together with the picture, was conveyed to the emperor's chariot, which as quickly took im and his prize to the palace, leaving poor Madam Letitia in silent astonishment to deplore her loss.

Cardinal uncle did not fail to set all these offers in the best possible light, and did all that advice, entreaty, or prayers, could suggest, to procure the acquiescence of his nephew. The latter's replies were full of sound reasoning, and breathed a great degree of sensibility: they were daggers to the cardinal's heart, who on this occasion not only betrayed his religious but parental duty, in urging Lucien to act against the dictates of his conscience. When some of his brother's letters were shewn to Napoleon, the latter observed, "Lucien is always for the sentimental, and forgets that my duty renders it impossible to listen to his propositions. Besides, in the position I am placed, I can no longer attend to family affections." The correspondence having closed without producing any effect, Beauharnois was made arch-chancellor of state, a situation which seemed to have been kept open for Lucien, in case of his return; and as to the duchy of Parma, it was given to Pauline, wife of Prince Borghese.

Lucien had left Milan before Napoleon went there to seize the iron crown of Lombardy; nor did he settle in Rome until a year after, having in the mean time resided either at Pesaro or a neighbouring villa. Although well aware of his brother's unbridled ambition, he yet thought the treaty of Tolentino would be respected, and wished to enjoy in a neutral country all that consideration and celebrity which the opposition he maintained against the all-powerful Napoleon was so well calculated to excite. In the ancient capital of the world Lucien's life passed with brilliancy and pleasure. The Pope treated him with marked attention and respect, calling to mind the very active part he had taken in the negociation relative to the concordat. Very high personal honours were also rendered to the exile, such as could only be expected by the brother of a great sovereign, and without any regard to the equivocal rank held by the object of them. Madam Lucien, on her side, received people of the first distinction, and though an air of superiority was affected, she

contrived to be very affable; nor was her husband himself altogether divested of that feeling which persuades a man he must be great: but this sentiment was avowed, in some measure, by his not accepting any other title from his friends than that of senator.

At Rome it is customary to shut up all the theatres during a part of the autumn, when most of the nobility go into the country; and on being re-opened, the governor causes refreshments to be handed round to each box, merely taking care that a little etiquette shall be observed in the distribution. It happened on this curious ceremony's taking place, after Lucien's arrival, that the first ices handed round were taken to the Duke and Duchess of Chablais, uncle and sister to the King of Sardinia. The French senator, to whom the next batch of refreshments was presented, refused them, and sent his servants to order some from his palace. The governor, on being informed of the circumstance, thought proper

to make an excuse, by saying, that the senator's not being served first arose from the neglect and inattention of those who were appointed to distribute the refreshments. The Duchess of Chablais, and Princess Dowager Borghese, were the only women in Rome who Madam Bonaparte would condescend to show out of the drawing room; her husband paid the same marks of respect to the Duke de Chablais, Prince Stanislas Poniatowski, the Prince of Saxe Gotha, all cardinals, and any one belonging to a royal family that attended his parties while at home. During those days which were fixed for the reception of select company, very few of the gentlemen attempted to sit down. Lucien's parties were, in fact, a counterpart of those which took place amongst the members of the imperial family at Paris. Nor did the senator ever return any visits except to princes who had previously called on him; he was rarely seen at any of the Roman houses, and never in much state. To the Holy Father he paid his respects very

frequently, for which purpose particular days were allotted. On these occasions he wore a French dress and small sword, but never at other times; this was the costume of the Institute, of which he was declared a member in 1803. With the exception of these gala days, Lucien always appeared in a blue frock, even when he received company, or at any public ceremony, where he mixed with the multitude; but he always took care to keep up his dignity whether abroad or at his own house.

The battle of Austerlitz having extorted the treaty of Vienna, Napoleon was left at full liberty to swallow up all that remained of Italy. The Neapolitan sovereign, who had been long threatened by a French corps quartered in Prussia, and under the command of Soult, seeing himself delivered from such a ruinous neighbour, by its being sent to re-inforce Massena's army in upper Italy, took advantage of the moment, although he had subscribed to terms of neutrality. And scarcely had the French ge-

neral reached the Adige, when an Anglo-Russian fleet disembarked a body of troops at Naples. At this time every thing seemed favourable to the emancipation of Ferdinand from the yoke of Napoleon. The Russians had already began their march to make a diversion in favour of Austria, when the news arrived of many victories having once more decided against that power. On this the Anglo-Russians hastened to re-embark; and while the Emperors of Russia and Austria were retreating in the north, their example was very closely followed in the south. Having disposed of his German enemies, Bonaparte hastened to renew his grasp on Naples; and to this effect, general Gouvion St. Cyr was ordered to lead an army towards that kingdom. Reaching Spoletto, the general was surprised by the sudden and unexpected appearance of Massena, who came to supersede him, and thus saw himself a second time obliged to cede an army which was on the point of making im-

portant conquests.* Immediately on giving up the command, St. Cyr returned to Paris, when the Emperor expressed great surprise at seeing him; and without affording the general time to explain, he was positively ordered to rejoin the army. The time had at length arrived, when people were not allowed even the privilege of complaining!

Shortly after, another personage made his appearance at Rome, quite as unexpectedly as Massena at Spoletto: this was Joseph Bonaparte, who got there just as the French army was about to establish its head-quarters at Albano, in the neighbourhood of that city. This visit left no longer any doubt on people's minds as to the intentions of Napoleon with respect to Naples, which he had already not only determined to occupy, but also to displace

* St. Cyr had in 1800 organized the expedition intended to act against Portugal, but was replaced by Le Clerc, Napoleon's brother-in-law, just as there was a probability of commencing hostilities.

the old king by one of his own setting up. Accordingly, he soon realized a former menace, which escaped him when informed that the Queen of Naples had violated her last treaty in favour of his enemies. On this occasion Bonaparte exclaimed, "That old cat will never let me alone till I have taken away her last petticoat!"

During Joseph's short stay at Rome, he frequently saw his brother Lucien, and seemed to agree very well with his sister-in-law; but whether of his own accord, or by a higher authority, Joseph renewed the negociation which had terminated so unfavourably in the hands of the cardinal, his uncle. As, however, the grand obstacle still remained, and Lucien felt no disposition to change his determination with regard to Madam Jouberteau, nothing was concluded. Several leading military men of that day, as well as many of the higher dignitaries, thought Lucien had on this occasion sacrificed the kingdom of Naples to his at-

tachment for the above lady. There is certainly very little doubt of his refusing the crown of that country sooner than separate from his wife and children; but the offer was not made, as Napoleon had already decided who was to be the new sovereign there. It was Tuscany that the Emperor intended as the price of his brother's submission; and instead of marrying the queen, it was now decided that both herself and son should give up the crown in favour of Lucien.

His Imperial Highness kept close in the rear of Massena's army, which amounted to nearly fifty thousand men, and had now proceeded on its march towards the Neapolitan territory: its numerous staff formed the court of Joseph. The preparations made by Massena to begin the campaign were soon rendered unnecessary, as, faithful to their well-known policy, Ferdinand and his consort, so far from making any attempt to defend their legitimate patrimony, were glad to take refuge amongst the

people of Sicily the instant they heard of Joseph's approach. Thus nothing occurred to interrupt the French army's approach towards the capital; and when arrived at Tiana, within about twenty miles of it, a deputation of the senate came out for the purpose of communicating the city's submission. On the next day, General Partonneau's division took possession of the forts and other military positions round Naples; and on the following day, Feb. 15th, 1805, Joseph made his public entry, accompanied by a large body of cavalry.

Although Ferdinand had already decamped for Palermo, it is pretended that old Caroline wished to defend the city. Resistance would have been, however, completely ineffectual in this case. It was very unlikely that a few undisciplined regiments could oppose a well organized French army: by shutting themselves up in Capua, they could not have prevented the latter's passing the Garigliano, or done any thing towards preserving the capital,

When the queen set off to join Ferdinand at Palermo, the hereditary prince headed five or six thousand men, with whom he marched into the Calabrias; so that with the exception of Gaeta, which the Prince of Hesse-Philipstadt bravely defended, all the northern parts of the kingdom, including Puglia, quietly received the French troops. Nor did the Calabrias remain long unoccupied by them, as several divisions marched into these provinces: the hereditary prince did not wait their arrival, but took to the water near Scylla, and embarked for the opposite shore of Sicily. The invading army soon spread itself all over the country; and tranquillity appeared so general, that Joseph betrayed a great deal of impatience to enjoy the acclamations of those who were condemned to become his new subjects. But many weeks did not elapse before a journey, which seemed to have ended so very peaceably, assumed altogether a different aspect.

The Calabrians, unprepared for defence, and without leaders, had received the yoke; but it was considered as a degradation. These people took arms seven years before to reconquer their liberty from those very masters, whom they still hated with undiminished rancour; and unfortunately the French commanders did not betray a sufficient distrust either of their sentiments, or means of annoyance. The inactivity and bad management of the subverted government prevented it from taking advantage of these means, and disposition to resist their new visitors; but the queen lost no time in opening an active correspondence with her Calabrian provinces, for which the Sicilian asylum afforded every facility; and when strengthened by the appearanee of an English force, she thought it was a good time to turn the tables against the enemy. Stimulated by her numerous emissaries, and impelled by their natural hatred, a terrible explosion soon followed both in Upper and Lower Calabria,

while General Stuart was effecting a landing in the bay of Eufemia. The French soldiers, scattered and amazed, were obliged to defend themselves without the possibility of forming a junction; at length a body of men under Regnier marched to repel the English. The battle of Maida was fought; and this contest, which ended unfavourably to the French arms, was the first instance wherein Fortune had deserted Napolean since his return from Egypt. As to the Calabrians, nothing could exceed their cruelties on all those of the French army who fell into their hands; refusing to give any quarter whatever, the British general could only succeed in stopping their excesses, by purchasing the prisoners they had taken. At Naples they affected to speak very lightly of this disastrous warfare, at once foreign and domestic, although in the course of a few weeks it cost the army above four thousand men.

In the mean time, Scylla, Reggio, and all the other fortified points, were in possession

of the French troops; and reinforcements being immediately sent in every direction, the generals were soon enabled to assume the offensive. Upon seeing this, the English commander did not think it prudent to prolong the contest, and therefore retired. The armed peasantry also withdrew into the fortresses of their inaccessible mountains, from whence they continued greatly to annoy the French, by interrupting the communications, cutting off convoys, and various other means. It even became necessary that Marshal Massena should establish his head-quarters in the very heart of the Calabrias, where he continued for some time after to exert a very rigorous military police.

On his return to Naples from a short visit to the disturbed provinces, Joseph found his diploma of royalty; and soon after all the civil authorities and clergy, with the archbishop at their head, came to congratulate the new sovereign; but this archbishop (Cardinal Ruffo Sylla) who lent himself to the present pom-

pous ceremony, did not show quite so much condescension when called upon to take the oath of allegiance: neither menaces or entreaty could produce compliance on that occasion. He was therefore exiled, and towards the end, one of those prelates who suffered most from the persecution of Napoleon.

Without having acquired the reputation of a very shrewd politician, Joseph, when raised to the throne of Naples, had the credit of not being altogether a stranger to public affairs, or ignorant of how a state should be administered. Some people went even so far as to think he had a turn for business, and possessed his share of that cold calculating wisdom which enables a man so easily to pursue the science of modern government. Those who knew Joseph better, and particularly his Neapolitan subjects, conceived the above qualities to have been purely imaginary, as he was very far from sustaining the dignity of the kingly office, or devoting his time to the good of those whom he had been

sent to govern. Instead of endeavouring to remove the stain of usurpation by useful occupations, or works of public utility, his private life was marked by an attachment to groveling pursuits and illicit pleasures. On the throne, he exhibited the picture of a prince without character or dignity; a slave to wicked ministers: he was prodigal without being generous, and liberal without discrimination. Salicetti, Rœderer, and Arcambel, a trio who filled the chief offices after Joseph's accession, were known to exercise an unlimited ascendant on this royal puppet of Bonaparte's creation. The jealousy and reciprocal hatred of the two first, who administered the most important concerns of the kingdom, destroyed the unity of public measures, and checked, if they did not prevent, all salutary improvements. The police, finances, and ministry of the interior, were at first consigned to Salicetti. His rigid system of administration and brutal manners, which were closely imitated by a supercilious

secretary, called Mariani, made this man very generally and justly detested. This well-merited hatred was manifested rather violently a year after; when, owing to a petard applied to one of the corners, a considerable portion of the palace which he inhabited at Naples was blown into the air.

Notwithstanding the above mode of governing, Joseph's power seemed daily to gain strength; nor could a few isolated attempts, and some scattered bands which occasionally appeared to favour the old sovereigns, prevail against a large army, or resist the almost total adhesion of the nobles, who were anxious to curry favour with the new court, and obtain the patronage of the ministry, which, bad as it was, had, at least, places and pensions to give away. The conquest of Gaeta having been at last effected, that of the whole kingdom was thereby completed.

Lucien, who still continued at Rome, kept up a regular correspondence with the new king.

Naturally attached to his family, he professed for Joseph, in particular, that kind of habitual deference which the Italians generally show to an elder brother. It was not so with regard to Napoleon. The quarrels, political dissensions, and persecutions, he had experienced with the latter, gave rise to an absolute feeling of hatred towards him, which it was impossible to conceal. With the exception of a few generals whom he had formerly known, his door was shut against the numerous agents of France who passed to or returned from Naples. He was, in fact, visibly irritated by the presence of any one who happened to be in the service of the Emperor. Even the ambassador, Alquier, whom he had succeeded at the court of Madrid, only met with a cold reception at his house. On the other hand, he treated M. de Humboldt, the minister of Prussia, with very marked and particular attention; and, during the time Bonaparte was pursuing Frederick William into his last province, his brother and the enemy's

ambassador were seen tracing the progress and position of the respective armies; and when the former could no longer doubt the success of Napoleon, he endeavoured to diminish its importance, and predicted reverses. But Lucien was not the only one who was reduced to the necessity of offering up prayers against the emperor's good fortune; and can any person reproach him for having participated in them, or deploring that France was victorious while Europe was desolated? However, in thus revealing his sentiments, he not only betrayed the extent of his aversion, but was thrown out of that mysterious circumspection which he affected on other subjects.

Although these circumstances seemed to render all hopes of reconciliation abortive, yet recourse was once more had to effect that grand purpose, and bring the brothers together. A minister, celebrated for his diplomatic ingenuity, undertook this difficult negociation, and wrote several voluminous epistles to Lucien from the

imperial head quarters, in which the refractory senator was once more implored to bow down to the supreme will. The negociation chiefly insisted on the separation from his wife, whom he affected to call only Madam Jouberteau: by acceding to this condition, the heavens were open to Lucien, and thrones were at his feet. It is probable that the senator's resistance to the golden baits thus offered was strengthened by his want of confidence in the stability of Napoleon's power. From whatever motive it proceeded, he replied to the advances of the minister with a degree of firmness and dignity very honourable to his character. His last communication ended with the following sentence: "I glory, Sir, in being ignorant of the language which you employ."

The treaty of Tilsit was known to Lucien before the ordinary couriers arrived at Rome; upon which he hastened to communicate the particulars to Prince Stanislas Poniatowski, nephew to the last king of Poland, who still

dreamed of the political regeneration of his country, and vainly relied on the promises of Napoleon. When he afterwards heard that the latter had converted Warsaw into a duchy, this prince observed: "I perceive that Napoleon gives and takes, but never returns any thing."

It was not merely a king of Naples which Bonaparte wished to make. In placing Joseph on the throne of the Tancred's and Alphonso's, Napoleon's object was to appropriate the two Sicilies entirely to his own family; and in the midst of prosperity, thought it was only to ask and to have. Pursuant to this convenient doctrine, it was modestly proposed to Ferdinand that he should resign his last crown, and descend into the condition of a dethroned and pensioned sovereign. Such, indeed, was the power of France in those days, that the result of this negociation would have been very doubtful, had not the British cabinet inspired the court of Palermo with resolution enough to

reject it. This took place in the summer of 1807; and in the event of the proposals being accepted, it was agreed that Lucien should retain his wife and children; and, giving up all claims, to be considered as a prince of the French imperial family, be declared prince of the blood royal of Naples, and proceed to Sicily as viceroy.

It was in the course of this very year, that the unfortunate Queen of Etruria, *the eldest daughter of the emperor*, a qualification which she gave herself, fell a political sacrifice to the rapacity of her adopted father. The French minister at Florence, M. d'Aubusson de la Feuillade, was the vehicle through which this piece of intelligence found its way to the Tuscan government. The measure originated in a pretended arrangement between the courts of France and Spain, which ceded Tuscany to the former, six years after its erection into a kingdom. The queen, who had no previous idea of the scheme, fainted away when the letter

which announced it was read in a council-extraordinary summoned for that purpose. She afterwards retired into Spain, together with her son Louis, without then foreseeing the still greater catastrophe which was silently preparing for the rest of her family.

Soon after the spoliation of Tuscany, Napoleon re-appeared in Italy, and was at this time in the very zenith of his glory. Venice had lately become one of the emperor and king's principal maritime departments, and he wished to examine the progress of that establishment. His brother Joseph, in going to join Napoleon, did not stop at Rome, but Lucien set off in the night, and went to meet his Neapolitan majesty at Velletri. In the conference which followed their meeting, both agreed as to the necessity of terminating the long misunderstanding which had separated the two brothers; and Joseph undertook to arrange an interview for that purpose. Lucien, who seemed much agitated since his brother had passed Rome,

left his house some days after, and travelling with the utmost speed, joined the emperor at Mantua; the discussion which ensued after their first meeting was very animated, and continued several hours. In spite of all his representations and endeavours, Lucien could not prevail on Napoleon to give up the principal condition of reconciliation. "I cannot," said the emperor, "go back from what I have proposed. Separate from your wife, at least for some time, and then we shall see what can be done." —"Not for an hour," rejoined Lucien, warmly. Although the latter had, by this answer, forfeited every claim and expectation personally, he did not abandon the interests of his children. Napoleon promised his protection to all of them: observing, that he regarded these by Lucien's first wife, as having already acquired a rank in the family, and that it had long been his intention to provide both these nieces with suitable establishments; the eldest he intended for the Prince of Asturias; and Lucien pro-

mised immediately to send her to the court of his imperial brother.

Madam Letitia had long shown a great desire to have these two grand-children near her, and the emperor felt equally anxious to draw a line of distinction between them and those of the second marriage, by making them participate in the newly-acquired grandeur of his family; this also enabled him to mark his disapprobation of Lucien's present connection. Tenderly attached to his daughters, the father could not bear the idea of their leaving him; and from his affections being equally divided amongst the children of both marriages, it is more than probable he disliked to separate their destinies. On the other hand, he may have entertained a secret hope of shortly seeing himself on a level with the rest of his brothers. However this may be, he concluded a long correspondence, in which various pretexts had been made to excuse the delay in sending his children, by assuring Madam Letitia that the

eldest girl was on the point of quitting Rome to join her at Paris.

Having arranged the concerns of his children, the remainder of Lucien's conversation with Napoleon related to indifferent subjects. "How do you manage to pass your time at Rome?" asked the latter: "Oh, I have found something to do," replied Lucien; "I am composing a poem." "A poem!" cried his brother; "and pray what is the subject?"—"That will be found in the title, which is 'Charlemagne; or, the Triumph of the Church, when Didier, assisted by the French, failed in his attempts against the sovereign pontiff.'" "What!" exclaimed the emperor, "then you have become a devotee; it only wanted this to complete matters."

Dissatisfaction and uneasiness might easily be seen through these ironical words of Napoleon, who had already began to torment the reigning pope, and was not likely to see his brother occupied on a religious poem with in-

difference. The usurper felt that the author's name, added to a few pointed allusions, would be sufficient to attract the attention of Europe, and insure its success. Perceiving the increased degree of consideration which Lucien's opposition gave him, Bonaparte endeavoured to diminish his popularity, by depreciating the senator's talents in the management of public affairs, and discouraging all those who remained attached to his politics: in these efforts to sink Lucien in public estimation, the arm of ridicule, which has so much power in France, was not omitted.

On Lucien's return to Rome, preparations were immediately made for the departure of his daughter, and many days were not suffered to pass before the report of her projected alliance found its way into public. From the marked attentions shown to Mademoiselle Charlotte, at the first carnival ball given by her father, it was evident that all the Roman nobility had been duly initiated into the

mystery of her approaching elevation. Fifteen years of age, a good figure, and graceful manners, were amongst the attractions of her who Napoleon destined for his most Catholic majesty (now Ferdinand the Seventh). She was to remain some time at the court of her uncle, in order to rehearse the part which he had allotted for her in his political farce; when new delays suddenly arose, and the arrangements for her journey seemed to be abandoned. Soon after this the catastrophe of Spain commenced.

The interview at Mantua had in the mean time become a subject of general conversation and conjecture at Rome. No part of that famous conference had approached any thing like an avowal, except the intended marriage of his daughter, but people naturally supposed that he, who was about to call the hereditary prince of Spain his son-in-law, would not himself be long out of the pale of European sovereigns and legitimate crowned heads. This was the best way of accounting for Charles the

Fourth's consenting to see his daughter robbed of Tuscany, which all Italy believed destined for Lucien. So far indeed had this persuasion been carried, that several Florentine nobles, including some public functionaries, had already began to canvass for the senator's future patronage. However flattering to his self-love this anticipated homage might have been, Lucien took an early opportunity of checking its farther progress, by declaring, in a large company of his friends, that people completely deceived themselves with respect to his going to Tuscany. There is no doubt of his sincerity on this occasion, as the well-known ambition of Eliza Bacciochi had for some time been directed to the possession of this beautiful country. But it is no less certain, that without the insurmountable barrier which lay between Lucien and power, he would most joyfully have accepted the sovereignty of that classical region and cradle of the fine arts.

While the Emperor and his conscientious

ministers were concerting the speediest means of turning the Bourbon dynasty off the Spanish throne, the leisure it afforded, enabled them to realize their projected spoliation of the papal territories, and whose venerated sovereign had been for some time exposed to the undisguised persecution of France.. The incessant passage of troops to and from Naples was naturally a source of the utmost annoyance to the pope, to whom their maintenance cost immense sums, which, though promises in abundance were made to that effect, would of course never be re-imbursed. Not only had the holy father been obliged to augment the existing taxes, but several new ones were also levied, to supply the continually increasing demands of his French *allies*. In the midst of these painful sacrifices, it was imagined that they would have awakened some little sense of gratitude. Reflecting on that degree of improved civilization at which Europe had arrived, people did not expect to see the age of barbarism return, in

which power was to be the only arbiter of human destiny, and despotism become law—vain delusion! Bonaparte no longer respected either sovereigns or their people; all the provinces of the ecclesiastical states were successively invaded; and the treaty of Tolentino openly violated in all its stipulations. Alquier, the French ambassador at Rome, had not, for a whole year previous to the final blow being struck, ceased to inundate the Vatican with his diplomatic trash and official communications, many of which were even signed by M. de Champagny, Duke of Cadore: these contained all that bad faith, distorted reasoning, and unlimited abuse of power could suggest; their whole meaning might, in fact, be reduced to the following general principle, extracted from one of the above notes:—"The Emperor Napoleon can admit of no neutrality in Italy. The interest of his states, and security of his armies, together with the various other objects which he is seeking to accomplish, require

that the whole Italian peninsula shall only contain subjects or allies of the grand empire. Let us consider the pope in his two-fold quality, as head of the church and a temporal sovereign. In the first the holy father wishes, no doubt, to remain at peace with all the Christian world, but this peace is incompatible with the topographical position of his provinces, and those political relations from which he cannot escape. The papal states which join Tuscany and Naples, are, on this account, of the greatest consequence in the eyes of his imperial majesty: by remaining neutral they would deprive the French armies of a sure communication with each other, and introduce the spies of the enemy amongst them. The coast of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic being still open to England, how would it be possible to calculate on the efficacy of those measures which are taken against the commerce of that country? It is therefore absolutely necessary that the pope, acting purely as a temporal monarch,

should co-operate in the political system he has been placed in by the situation of those provinces; that he should declare war against Great Britain, adopting all the measures of the other continental powers in alliance with the great empire. If not, his holiness ought to renounce temporal power, and, as the common father of Christians, transfer to the successor of Charlemagne those provinces which had been formerly detached from that sovereign's inheritance in favour of the holy see."

Such was the substance of these pretensions, which though only hinted at first, were soon brought forward as the legitimate basis of negociation, and even notified as the unequivocal opinion of his majesty the emperor and king. It was also in contemplation to limit the pope's power in matters totally foreign to political government, and merely relative to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It was said, for example, that "the conclave, owing to abuses which might be traced to former ages, was

almost entirely composed of Italian cardinals: yet, there is but one church, and justice requires that the prelates of Catholicism should participate in the first dignities of their faith, proportioned to the rank of their respective countries." As the natural consequence of this argument, thirty cardinals' hats were required for France alone. It did not want much penetration to see through a proposition which went to establish a spiritual senate in the very centre of Rome, which should be equally obsequious and servile as the political one at the Luxembourgh, and transferred to Paris, finally lead to Bonaparte's domineering over the church as he did over the sovereigns of Europe.

To these artifices of a preposterous policy, though unhappily powerful despot, in which such a strange option was left to the Pope, it was answered that the French government could not hide even from itself the weakness of the reasoning thus employed, or the folly of

those motives which had been advanced as decisive grounds of action. "Is it possible," it was asked, "seriously to apprehend that a little state, inhabited by priests, and persons who live and die in a permanent peace with all nations, a few provinces conquered by France, and surrounded by the troops of that nation, which were continually either quartered in, or passing through them, could possibly be a just source of uneasiness to the imperial armies?" With regard to the state of hostility into which they wished to drag the Pope, if the personal feelings of his Holiness did not prescribe a very different disposition, the sacred office with which religion had invested him pointed out his duty, and precluded the possibility of acceding to the proposed measures. In reply to the arguments which have been used against England, it might be said, that although that country had separated from the Catholic church, her people were still Christians, and had never offended the subjects of his Holiness.

It was incontestible, on the other hand, that the immense and tyrannical power of the French government gave it every facility of carrying its prohibitory rules against British commerce into effect, over all the ecclesiastical states; finally, that his Holiness had no means of opposing these efforts against the rights of sovereignty; but that he would loudly protest against the violence which was thus exercised in his states, and never consent to measures unworthy of his dignity either as a spiritual or temporal monarch. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this moral resistance had only the effect of irritating the despoiler, without producing the least tendency to change his system of unprovoked aggression.

While the Pope's ministers were ineffectually remonstrating against the usurper's conduct, his troops took possession of the Adriatic provinces, together with that of Spoletto and Camerino. In fact, the whole territory north of the Apenines was invaded; so that nothing

remained to the Holy See but its southern line, extending from Tuscany to Naples; a remnant which every one foresaw would not be respected for any length of time. Towards the beginning of 1808, the French diplomatic notes were observed to breathe a much more imperious and menacing air than usual. As to Pius the Seventh, his firmness continued unabated, and he manifested a determination to suffer every thing rather than conform to the will of his persecutors. It was at last announced that a body of French troops approached the capital: they arrived at Ponte Mola, in the suburbs, February the seventh, of the above year; and General Miollis, who commanded, notified to the Cardinal Secretary of State that he intended to enter Rome the next day. At this period the garrison only consisted of five hundred infantry, and about two hundred cavalry; but if ever so numerous, there was no idea of any attempt being entertained to repel the enemy; indeed, the Pope never intended

to oppose the enemy by an armed force. The only resistance his Holiness thought of making to the oppressor, was that of conscience, personal dignity, and the long recognised laws of nations. But these were feeble ramparts where Bonaparte was concerned. On the other hand, his Holiness felt that the French troops should not, if only for the sake of form, be permitted to enter the city without some shew of opposition, and he therefore determined publicly to prove the open violation of his sovereignty in the very capital itself.

Pursuant to the above resolution, the garrison was put under arms at day-light the next morning, and soon after assembled in the Piazza del Popolo. The enemy arrived before the gate of this entrance at eight o'clock, and on finding it shut, the sappers were ordered to force an entrance: this was easily effected, and the French troops rushed in, while the sovereign Pontiff's protest was reading to his soldiery.

The inhabitants were greatly terrified by the appearance of their new visitors; and very few amongst them betrayed the smallest attachment either to the French troops or their government.

Let us now follow the conduct of Lucien on the above memorable occasion.

Gonsalvi, the former secretary of state, who had been displaced two years before, owing to his spirited opposition to Cardinal Fesch, then French ambassador to the Pope, still preserved the entire confidence of his master, and was also on terms of the closest intimacy with Lucien. It was through this channel that the latter participated in all the secret deliberations of his Holiness; and there is no doubt of Lucien's having always recommended the most energetic measures, attributing all the present disasters to Pius the Seventh's journey to Paris, which he called an unfortunate instance of weakness. So that nothing could be more mistaken than the idea of Rome's having been

occupied with the previous consent and approbation of Lucien, who an idle report gave the credit of being about to assume the general government of the country, and perhaps its final sovereignty. So far from acting in this way, which the Pope's extreme kindness would have rendered still more odious, he scarcely received General Miollis, who called on him the day of his arrival; and a piquet of grenadiers, finely dressed, sent to act as a guard of honour at the senator's palace, were indignantly ordered to retire. If Miollis was received afterwards, he visited Lucien rather as an old acquaintance than commander-in-chief of the French troops; and except the two generals of brigade, who once or twice presented themselves at the palace, no other officer of rank under the new governor's command was ever seen at Lucien's, whose sentiments with regard to the holy father's treatment were more particularly exemplified in his conduct towards the Baron de Friès, colonel-commandant of

the Papal infantry. This officer, a Swiss by birth, had formerly been in the service of France, and while stationed in Corsica he married a young lady of the island, who was, at first, destined to become the wife of Joseph Bonaparte. Both the husband and wife were always extremely well received at Lucien's house; and the baron was generally considered as an excellent officer, having distinguished himself in the organization of all the infantry which formed the garrisons of his Holiness. It was natural to suppose that a sense of gratitude and duty, no less than some regard for the oaths he had taken, would have secured the baron's fidelity. But in this case, like many others, the road of ambition was not that of honour; and fancying that he had nothing more to hope from his former benefactor, he did not feel disposed to wait for a period when the latter must have absolved him from allegiance, but yielding at once to the dazzling illusions held out by imperial power,

embraced the usurper's cause, and appeared some days after the entry of General Miollis, decorated with the order of the iron crown, having previously received the confirmation of his rank, and taken his battalion over to the service of France. This sudden defection was regarded with the severity it deserved; and if a sentiment of fear induced the nobles of Rome to keep on terms with the baron, Lucien, whose door was immediately shut against him, became at once the organ of general disapprobation. The baroness, who might have married Joseph, and been now Queen of Naples, could hardly avoid making some humiliating reflections on the vicissitudes of life, and sad fatality that awaited her on the present occasion.

People did not fail to represent Lucien's manner of treating the Baron de Friès under such colours as were most likely to wound the pride of Napoleon, and create alarm for the success of his policy with regard to the holy

father. The various representations made on this subject could not be attributed to General Miollis, who was on the contrary full of respect and admiration towards Lucien. Nor shall we direct our suspicions against the ambassador, Alquier, who, though personally dissatisfied with the senator, was more inclined to revenge himself by an occasional epigram, or any other source of ridicule, than descend to the vile trade of an informer. But there is every reason to believe that the chevalier, Artaud,* chargé d'affaires to the kingdom of Italy, did not adopt quite so correct a line of

* M. Artaud, formerly secretary of legation to the ambassador, Cacault, filled the same situation at Rome, under M. de Blacas d'Aulps, and is now employed in the French legation at Vienna. This gentleman was the accredited agent of France at the court of Florence, before the change which gave Etruria to Eliza Bacciochi. He even succeeded in winding himself into the queen's good graces, and is said by some to have consoled that excellent lady's widowhood. In return for her sympathy, he saw no harm in confiding the secrets of his government to her Etrurian Majesty. This part of the secretary's transactions was, however, discovered; for a courier, who was going to

conduct, or neglect to give a minute account of what was going on in Lucien's palace, in the confidential reports he addressed to Eugene Beauharnois. It is certain that the senator was narrowly watched, while nothing can be more improbable than the circumstance of spies being found in his own household, not one of whom excited the smallest suspicion. Besides, the servants were always kept at such a great distance by their master, as to make it impossible for them to assist the secret police of Napoleon, which had by this time extended to every part of his domination on each side the Alps.*

Spies and informers were to be found in the

Spain, being arrested, several documents were found on him, which clearly proved the *fidelity* with which M. Artaud executed the high trust reposed in him. Mr. A. was consequently recalled.

Returning to France, he attached himself to General Pommereuil, director of the Imperial library and printing-office, and was at last nominated to the Imperial censorship.

* It was the same at Paris, where every step made by

first circles at Rome; and it was in Lucien's own drawing-room they exercised their honourable calling and fabricated their reports. Care was taken to keep an account of every visit, and discover, if possible, the subject of each conversation held by the senator or his attendants: even the most indifferent trifles were noted, however unsusceptible of being heightened into importance by those miscreants of tyranny. Of this disgraceful system, the following is an example:

At the beginning of winter, Madam Lucien, by way of amusing her children, caused several handsome dresses, like those worn by the Roman peasantry, to be made for them, while two suits of uniform were prepared for little Charles, then six years old. One was that of a

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Lucien, and word he uttered, found its way to Napoleon. Even the conversations held by his attendants, and every thing else that passed at the Hotel de Brienne, was regularly conveyed to the Tuilleries; and although every possible effort was made to discover the informer, he always escaped discovery, and its consequent infamy.

French officer of infantry, and the other for an officer of Roman cavalry. As the latter was very richly embroidered, it generally had the preference; and the child thus habited frequently appeared in the public walks. What an important event for the chroniclers! A person named Mallet, who had been appointed to command the garrison at Rome, observing the young colonel of hussars walking about occasionally, thought it was too serious a piece of news to conceal; he therefore "*felt it his duty*" to inform the minister at Milan that the Pope was preparing means of defence, and that the senator Lucien, in order to give an appearance of greater importance to the troops of his Holiness, permitted his son to become an honorary colonel of cavalry. It would be difficult to conceive any thing more superlatively ridiculous than the above. Upon which subject the French authorities considered it necessary to require explanations.

The legal government continued to be ad-

ministered in those provinces of which France had not yet deigned to take possession for some time after Miollis entered Rome; the French general merely instituting a high military police. This was so managed, that he could conceal the real state of things from the people, as well as all acts, whether of remonstrance or complaint, which emanated from the Pope, who was thenceforward subjected to an inquisition the most infamous and unprincipled. This was not confined to the capital alone, but penetrated the very walls of his palace. It was well known in France that the holy father had quite firmness enough to avail himself of the co-operation of the church. But it was also believed that there would be no difficulty in arresting the thunderbolts thus launched, before they could take effect. The vengeance was, however, ready to explode, and ought to have reached the aggressors.

Although Lucien's presence was no obstacle to the French, yet they did not like the idea

of his being so near the scene of their iniquities. The very unequivocal manner in which he gave his opinion of these induced the enemy to believe that he could not witness the premeditated charges with indifference, or avoid giving information and advice to the oppressed party. It was, therefore, resolved to get him out of the way. Being in the early part of April, 1808, at his country-seat, near Frescati, the same that belonged to Cicero, and to which Lucien had restored its original name of Tusculum, he received a letter from Joseph, recommending him to quit the Papal territories for some time, as they no longer afforded a proper asylum. As this communication from the new king, in advising the senator to select a more convenient and peaceable abode for himself and family, did not point out his own states as suitable for that purpose, Lucien very properly considered it as a broad hint not to visit them. There would certainly have been a great deal of embarrassment created by the pre-

sence of a brother whom he could not recognize as a prince of the blood, and whose removal to Naples must have had all the appearance of another exile. Napoleon, too, had by this time redoubled his severity in many respects, and would not even suffer the two brothers to see each other. When Julia, wife to the King of Naples, passed by Rome two months before, she received a positive order not to go near Lucien, as this lady was on particularly good terms with her brother-in-law, and manifested the utmost regret, while she conformed to the despot's will. In this state of things, Tuscany, from which the legitimate sovereigns had been just removed, leaving it still without a new government, was chosen as the future retreat of Lucien and his family.

During the interregnum, the counsellor of state, Dauchy, administered all the civil and political affairs of the above country, while General Fiorella, a relative of Bonaparte's, commanded the troops under the superior authority of

Eugene Beauharnois. The period of Lucien's arrival at Florence was so marked by revolutions in political geography, that the people of Tuscany thought they were hailing a new sovereign in the senator's person. His reputation as a statesman, enlightened taste for the fine arts, and that extensive patronage which he was said to afford them, together with the adoption of Italian manners throughout his family, spoke volumes in Lucien's favour, with a nation remarkably susceptible of gratitude and enthusiasm. He now became an idol by anticipation, and through his means the days of the Medici were to be immediately revived. The greatest acclamations attended his journey from Rome, and he could not appear in public for several days after his arrival in Florence, lest the French should accuse him of a desire either to promote or encourage the joyful demonstrations manifested by all classes of the inhabitants. At length, several hints thrown out in the gazettes, added to more direct assur-

ances propagated by the police, opened the eyes of the multitude, by convincing them that Napoleon meant to retain the whole country for himself; after which, their exultation soon vanished.

Madam Bacciochi, who resided at her principality of Lucca when Lucien arrived at Florence, came to pass a few days in that city, during the summer; but it was only by adopting the greatest precautions, and, finally, stealing through a small garden gate at night, that she could see her brother or his family. These apprehensions on the part of a sister, the sincerity of whose attachment could not be doubted, and whom a very decided character had made rather independent of the Imperial restrictions, clearly proved that the interview at Mantua had not very materially changed the feelings of Napoleon towards his brother. But with all these symptoms of permanent disgrace, how is it possible to account for those hopes which appeared to revive in Lucien's family,

whenever Napoleon, as the demon of discord, agitated his flaming torch? We have already alluded to the probability of his accepting the vice-royalty of Sicily, in the event of Ferdinand's consenting to abandon that rich portion of his kingdom: there was now very little doubt of his being equally anxious for the sovereignty of Tuscany; and Joseph's transfer to Spain only tended to give increased incouragement to the hopes of his thinly-disguised ambition. It may easily be conceived, that Madam Bonaparte, being persuaded her husband could never participate in the growing honours of his family, without some concessions on her part, though not disposed to separate, had reconciled her feelings to the idea of living as his wife, without being crowned. She relied on the operation of time, aided by the unalterable attachment of Lucien, for an order of things more favourable to her self-love; and we have great reason to believe she had succeeded in persuading the senator to adopt the same way of thinking.

Such was the basis of another negotiation attempted by Joseph. Called to Bayonne for the purpose of seizing what had been just taken from the royal family of Spain, this hopeful elder brother proceeded to his new destination by the Marches of Ancona, but sent a confidential courier to Lucien at Florence. Although Julia his queen remained at Naples, it was no longer concealed that another master would soon be appointed to reign there, and it was naturally asked upon whom the choice would fall. Louis and Jerome were provided for; and it was very generally asserted that Napoleon had irrevocably fixed Murat's destiny in making him Grand Duke of Berg, while his mismanagement of Spanish affairs did not seem to give the brother-in-law any farther claims to an increase of titles or dignity. All these things considered, it was universally believed that Lucien's time had at length arrived: every eye was steadily fixed on him, while the court of Naples, its army, and public func-

tionaries, axiously looked forward to his arrival in that capital.

These favourable and flattering appearances were however soon dispersed by the activity and ambition of Madam Murat, who had been for some time occupied in making invidious comparisons between Joachim's ducal crown and the kingly ones which decorated the heads of her brothers. Anxious to rise on a level with her sisters, she ardently seized the first opportunity of aspiring to a similar rank, and hastening to Bayonne, where Bonaparte was so busily employed in taking crowns off some heads and putting them on others, her eloquence prevailed, and Caroline had obtained every thing for her husband before Joseph could arrive to make good his own demands in favour of the disappointed senator. Thus it will appear that Murat owed the throne he was about to occupy to the persuasive talents of his wife. Curious as this fact may be, it is much less worthy of historical record than the

subsequent melancholy fate of poor Joachim, who, if he had weaknesses and vices, certainly possessed many excellent qualities, and no inconsiderable share of talents. His powerful appeal to the degenerate people of Italy was sufficient to redeem many political crimes, while his fatally ineffectual struggle to regain the lost throne of Naples might, under different circumstances, have excited admiration instead of obloquy; and it must have been a fatality no less blind than cruel that could have ever induced this unfortunate soldier to put himself into the power of such a government as that of Naples.

There being an apparent end to Lucien's hopes, he soon betrayed a considerable degree of anxiety to change his position, and for this purpose obtained permission to go and reside on his estate of Canino in the Roman states, twenty-five leagues from the capital, and only six from Viterbo. Canino formerly belonged to the Farnese family, and having afterwards

fallen into the national domains of the Apostolical Chamber as a dependency on the Duchy of Castro, Lucien bought it at a very reasonable rate about a year before his quitting Rome. The senator seemed desirous of settling on this extensive tract, which, even in its present uncultivated state, was very productive. In addition to a great deal of pasture land, which insured a good revenue, there was a large quantity of timber on the estate; all which advantages it was the intention of Lucien to improve. This property gave the owner no right of jurisdiction over the adjacent town, which bears the same name, and containing a population of nearly twelve thousand souls, which is generally increased during the winter months by mountaineers, who descend with their flocks to feed on the neighbouring pastures, for agricultural purposes, or to work at the iron founderies. The influx of strangers which takes place at this season of the year gives a most animated appearance to Canino,

and seems to remind the traveller of those patriarchal days when whole tribes were in the habit of periodically changing their place of abode. A kind of manor-house had been formed from the remains of the old castle; but this was small, very much neglected, and badly distributed. It was therefore necessary to hasten the repairs so as to make it capable of receiving the senator's family, which had in the mean time taken up its abode in different parts of the town. No sooner had Lucien examined the state of his lands, than all his attention seemed directed towards rural and agricultural pursuits. Dressed in a coarse woollen coat and thick shoes, whole days were passed in visiting his domain, and superintending the workmen employed in various parts of it. He generally carried a fowling piece, which was used in going along, without his often taking the trouble of descending from the vehicle in which he rode to pick up the game: a considerable portion of the evenings was

devoted to writing and settling the accounts. Having reported progress, his overseers and bailiffs received directions for occupations of the following day. If bad weather prevented Lucien's going out, he would then recollect that he had undertaken to compose a poem, and devote some hours to that; but his early fervour with respect to the above object, though afterwards revived, had abated very considerably on his arrival at Canino. Sundays and other religious anniversaries were very rigidly observed throughout the family. Lucien would, on these occasions, throw off his rustic habiliments, and appear in a gayer attire. It was expected that the family should also improve their dress on such days. There was a regularly enclosed pew in the parish church, with cushions and seats for the lord of the manor. This was generally attended by all the children, together with their teachers and governesses, while those of the establishment who remained at home performed their religious

duties in the domestic chapel attached to the castle, where both Lucien and his wife, together with all the servants, heard mass at the same time: but this was a very old custom in the senator's family, and never omitted while at Frescati. At Rome there was a portable altar, which enabled the service to be performed in a room of the palace, as Lucien never went publicly to church while in that city. From the strict example shown in this respect by the heads of the family, they would have been justly dissatisfied with any of the attendants who did not follow it. They were equally averse to the latter's encouraging any loose thoughts on religious belief, and always manifested equal dislike and reprobation of infidelity. This mode of thinking was too steadily pursued not to be sincere. It is true Lucien had, at one period of his life, entertained very different opinions; but is he the first whose early propensities and notions as to religion have undergone a material change in

maturer years, when their fallacy became apparent? Besides, it would be unnatural to suppose that the reflections suggested by his new capacity of father and husband did not produce a very important revolution in those wild theories which were purely the result of the unforeseen circumstances attending his first entry into public life. The multitude attach so much importance to consistency, whether in religion or politics, that the smallest deviation from a man's usual professions or practice are narrowly watched and severely scrutinized. Happy for those, who, like the subject of these memoirs, abjures an erroneous system from principle, and not to gratify the sordid motives of personal aggrandizement, or still more unprofitable applauses of a contemptible party. We can easily conceive that human nature can hardly exhibit a more melancholy picture than in the person of him, who, after having devoted a certain number of years to the sacred cause of public liberty and human happiness,

suddenly disappoints the expectations of friends and admirers, by espousing one which is inimical to both. We do not envy the bitter pangs that must necessarily follow in the train of such apostacy, which, though it may boast of honours and rewards, has certainly no claims to the title of philosophy or virtue.

In this part of the ecclesiastical states, and towards the Mediterranean coast, the whole country, including those tracts which are cultivated, remain uninhabited during the greatest part of the year, there being scarcely a house built on them; for those who till the land generally live in towns and villages several leagues distant, the noxious exhalations, or *mal aria*, rendering it impossible for human beings to exist on those dreary wastes, between the months of June and September. Yet this does not prevent numerous bands of both sexes from coming at the above dreadful period to collect the harvest: these, apparently indifferent to the certain consequences, soon feel the fatal

effects of their temerity, as very few days elapse after arriving on the spot, before two-thirds of the whole are either carried off altogether, or attacked by fevers, which generally end in dissolution. It is calculated, that above two-thirds of those who are employed to get in the crops on this part of the Roman states perish annually; and by a strange effect of habit, combined with their necessities, the miserable beings who survive the contagion are scarcely able to crawl out of the straw which has afforded them covering in sickness, when they hasten to contract an engagement, to resume the same labours next season!—Such are the sacrifices these wretched creatures are willing to make for the more than precarious hope of gaining a morsel of bread, to sustain their miserable nature!

Not far from the town, and protected on the north by a fine wood, stood the remains of an old convent, which was now reduced to the humble condition of a granary; but this was

spacious, being composed of several large apartments, and very well adapted to the purpose. This religious establishment had been built on a rising ground, and one side was washed by a large rivulet, while several leagues of cultivated ground, terminated by a village called Montalto, and the distant sea, formed an excessively picturesque view. Madam Lucien took particular pleasure in frequenting this promenade: several temporary huts were thrown up in an adjoining meadow, and to these the whole family resorted when the weather happened to be favourable. On these excursions being proposed, it was usual to send provisions, and dine on the spot; after which, horse and foot races, dancing, and other amusements, generally concluded the day. The scene of festivity closed; twenty minutes of a tolerably quick pace enabled the party to reach the mansion, from Musignano, the name borne by this rural spot.

A mile farther on, and near the wood, are

several Etruscan remains of the highest antiquity: the vicinity of hot springs, some of which bubble up amongst the ruins, prove that there must have been baths in this quarter. Here Lucien determined to excavate; and a hundred men were immediately employed for that purpose. These had not proceeded many days, when it was ascertained that the first conjectures were correct; as the discovery of a great number of chambers, several galleries and corridors, evidently indicated the existence of baths on a very large scale, such as none but a capital like that of Rome could well require, yet it does not appear that there is any thing on record to throw a light on the history of this interesting spot; and although Lucien's efforts were not successful in this respect, a very fine marble statue of Juno, and numerous fragments, amply repaid the trouble he had taken. It is said that excavations seldom compensate the expense attending them: it was not so with the senator,

whose pursuits in this way have always been peculiarly fortunate; those undertaken at Frescati, on a much larger scale than the attempt at Musigrano, produced a very respectable collection; in which, besides a great number of fine fragments, there were many valuable busts, and a whole length statue of Tiberius in high preservation.

The last named place, as we have already observed, was the habitation of Cicero, celebrated under the name of Tusculum. The spot on which the great Roman orator's house stood is situated on the loftiest part of the eminence. Of this the circular walls are still traced, and Lucien caused a bust of the first illustrious proprietor to be placed within them. It was also from the papal government that this place was purchased: its vulgar and traditionary appellation is that of Ruffinella, from Rufinus, a consular family, supposed to have possessed the estate during the reign of the first Cæsars, and consequently not long after the time of Cicero. The modern house, which

was formerly a convent, is far from possessing that imposing exterior and decorative elegance which generally distinguish the other Roman villas so profusely scattered about the capital; but it is a most agreeable residence, very conveniently arranged, and admirably suited to the climate: the principal room, built from the designs of Viguali, is justly celebrated for the beauty and regularity of its proportions. But that, most worthy of admiration at Tusculum, is the view enjoyed from it: this is inexpressibly magnificent, and eminently calculated to awaken recollections of the most useful and interesting description.

Placed on the mountain's summit, the eye is first attracted by the rich vineyards and luxuriant foliage in its immediate vicinity; then comes Frescati, whose name recalls the rustic origin of that ancient colony. Numerous villas, reared on the ruins of those which belonged to the former masters of the world, are next seen, thickly surrounded by superb

gardens, orchards, and orange groves. Such are the objects which compose the foreground of this grand prospect. The middle one presents an immense plain, without cultivation, whose dreary monotony is occasionally broken by a straggling hamlet or isolated ruin; but, above all, the splendid remains of those stupendous aqueducts, astonishing for their extent, and admirable for their utility, which, abandoned during a lapse of fifteen centuries, seem to resist final destruction only to attest the greatness of past ages. Rome follows! - that Rome in which every edifice, and even stone, may be said to excite meditation; where so many splendid ruins and magnificent palaces divide our attention between surprise and admiration. The horizon is considerably prolonged beyond the "eternal city," and terminates in a branch of the Apennines, which bound the Tiber to the north. To the right of this, the sea, though above forty miles off, is generally seen to glitter in the distance. The plain in this di-

rection, also interspersed with cottages and ruins, is closed by a fine view of the heights round Albano.

Several miles farther on to the right is seen Tivoli, that fairy scene which Mæcenas, Horace, and Catullus, seem to have, as it were, recommended to posterity: a place which travellers seldom fail to visit for the purpose of witnessing that sublime assemblage of natural beauty which attracted those immortal men, and excited their recorded admiration. Those who wander over its deep glens and romantic solitudes, or, passing the beautiful temple of Vesta, descend into the grotto of Neptune, to hear the mighty roar of dashing waters bursting from a thousand apertures in the rock; thence crossing the bridge of San Giovanni, proceed round the valley, and seat themselves on the elevated banks near the villas of Horace and Quintilius Varus, casting their eyes to the opposite shore, resplendent in all the magical attributes of nature, will enjoy the most gratify-

ing sight which imagination can depict, and cease to wonder why poetry and painting have for so many centuries vied with each other in celebrating the endless charms of Tivoli: well might the poet of Lucretilis exclaim, while occupied in contemplating such a scene.

"Tibur argeo positum colono
Sit mæ sedes utinam Senectæ;
Sit modus lasso maris, et viarum,
Militiæque! ....." *

The remains of Adrian's villa near Tivoli, out of which so many fine collections have been formed, and villa of Este, a magnificent fabric of the sixteenth century, close to that of Mæcenas, also deserve the particular notice of travellers.

Lucien had purchased the very house in

* "May Tibur to my latest hours
Afford a kind and calm retreat;
Tibur, beneath whose lofty towers
The Grecians fix'd their blissful seat:
There may my labours end, my wanderings cease,
There all my toils of warfare rest in peace!"
FRANCIS, Ode VI.

which the celebrated friend of Augustus formerly resided. The archways, terrace, and suite of apartments still remaining, serve to give some idea of its former extent; but no language can do justice to the grandeur of its situation, or convey an adequate idea of the enchanting scenery which surrounds it on every side.

Soon after the acquisition of this place, the senator re-established an iron-foundery there, which had been suspended for many years, importing the ore from Elba: this has been also discontinued since.

With the exception of an occasional visit to Tivoli, Lucien preferred Frescati as a summer residence. It was here that he seemed to forget the corroding influence of ambition and noisy cares of the world. His leisure was usefully occupied without being exposed to the interruptions of public life. There was, in fact, at this place, every motive to be happy; and Lucien had at least the merit of appearing

satisfied with those advantages which had enabled him to acquire so many sources of enjoyment.

It would no doubt have been desirable had Canino possessed charms equal to those of Frescati, but a yearly revenue of eighty thousand francs, capable of being doubled in a few years, rendered the former a real object of importance to the family of Lucien, while it afforded an opportunity of indulging in those agricultural and rural pursuits for which the senator always manifested the utmost fondness.

Madam Bonaparte had an accouchement while at the above estate, and presented her husband with another son, one of whom, the youngest, died about fifteen months before. The newly born was called after Paul III. of the Farnese family, because that pontiff's birth took place in the very same house three centuries before. It was also said in Lucien's family that the principality would most probably be reserved for this infant.

As however the summer approached, it became necessary to remove from a country in which the mal aria was about to re-commence; but it was impossible to return to Florence, as Bacciochi had been, by this time, declared Grand Duchess of Tuscany, and placed at the head of public affairs in that country, where she came to reside. Having offered Lucien her house at the baths of Lucca, he proceeded there with his whole family towards the end of May. On leaving Canino the senator made such arrangements, with respect to his estate, as were most calculated to give his next visit additional interest. Several new buildings and outhouses were to replace the old ones; the castle also underwent a thorough repair, and an open space before the house, looking towards the adjoining woods, succeeded a mass of uncouth and useless barns: the hospital was next removed to a more airy situation. Owing to a request of the town's-people, Lucien caused a very handsome new gateway

and other improvements to be erected at the entrance of the town.

All these changes, which were about to metamorphose a considerable part of Canino, had already began, but the question was how they could be completed in five months, and during the bad season too. This was, however, completely effected, workmen being called in from every direction: the travelling expenses of those who came any distance were paid; and if a person was taken ill, he received medical advice, and his wages continued though replaced by another hand. The bustling scene which followed the family's departure reminded one of those ridiculous wagers which people are so constantly in the habit of laying in England. It however had the desired effect, and all the projected improvements were concluded at the end of November, the period of Lucien's return.

While these numerous embellishments were going on; the land occupied an equal share of

attention. The proprietor alone kept thirty ploughs at work, each of which were drawn by four bullocks chosen for the purpose, while several large herds and flocks covered the pastures: amongst the latter, Lucien had introduced a great number of the best Merino breed. The founderies and iron works were also supplied with cattle for transporting their produce to the capital. The whole country had in fact assumed new life and vigour; nor is there a doubt, that by a few years perseverance in the above system, Canino would have become one of the richest and most flourishing tracts in all Italy.

END OF VOL. I.

B. Clarke, Printer, Well Street, London.

00033021

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015